

The Dawn

and

Dawn Society's Magazine

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By the grace of God our Magazine has now entered the sixth year (*New Series*) of its existence. We trust that our humble efforts in the spread of a wider knowledge about our own past and present, about our peoples and princes, nobles and great men are now appreciated by our countrymen. We are trying to present to our countrymen a picture of the high ideas and ideals of our own past civilisation, in order that we may not fall away from them and in order that the future of India may not be wholly severed from her past but that on the contrary we may rise to higher and higher steps of our national life through the life-giving inspirations which Indian Civilisation (Hindu and Islamic) affords. The work before us is arduous and the workers are few. Pecuniary difficulties also stand in our way. Notwithstanding all difficulties, however, this journal was published throughout last year, and is also being published this year, *in the very beginning of every month*. And further we were able to present to our readers in every issue a number of pages embodying the results of original work. For this purpose a number of distinguished, self-sacrificing workers are engaged on our editorial staff. But the number of our present subscribers is not large enough to enable us to make our paper cover all the expenses which we have to incur for it, especially as we are giving away this journal to students and other sections of our countrymen at a considerable sacrifice, in fact, at a price below the cost of production of the paper. **May we not, therefore hope that every one of our subscribers will make it a point to secure at least five new subscribers to this paper during the present year : our financial condition will then permit us to make the paper truly popular and national.**

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11. Advance Swadeshi: A striking Piece of successful work (Oct.)
12. Progress of Technical Education in Native States (Dec.)

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2. Western Education and a University for Moslems
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एकद्वयेण च्चवस्थितो योऽर्थः स परमार्थः ।

That which is ever-permanent in one mode of Being is the TRUTH.-- Sankara

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PART I: INDIANA

INDIA IN A NEW LIGHT : THROUGH THE HISTORICAL DISCOVERIES OF Dr. P. C. RAY, D. Sc., Ph. D., THE GREAT BENGALI CHEMIST

I

Dr. Praphulla Chandra Ray, D. Sc., Ph. D., Senior Professor of Chemistry at the Calcutta Presidency College, better known throughout the world as Dr. P. C. Ray, the discoveror of Mercurous Nitrite and many other similar nitrogen compounds, has in the department of scientific history achieved results which will live for all time and rescue the fair fame of India from a stigma which he has shewn to be thoroughly undeserved. The reproach incessantly cast at India so long, has been that in her past she was too subjective, too metaphysical, too other-worldly, and that her downfall was by reason of her unpracticalness, her other-worldliness, her speculative, non-scientific spirit. Thus, the Indians had always hitherto been credited with a knowledge only of deep and abstract philosophy, and also of the mathematical and medical sciences ; but the latest researches in the department of scientific history as revealed in Dr. P. C. Ray's two volumes of that monumental work "History of Hindu Chemistry", have indisputably established the fact that in ancient India, Chemistry was zealously and successfully cultivated. This historical discovery has completely revolutionised European public opinion on the subject ; and that great German author, Hermann Scheleuz, one of the greatest of the living authorities on Pharmaceutical Chemistry, and author of the *History of Pharmacy* ("Geschichte der Pharmazie") has gone into ecstasy over Dr. P. C. Ray's *History of Hindu Chemistry*, and has authoritatively declared as his deliberate opinion that the mastery of chemical processes as elaborately described in the Hindu work, *Rasaratna*—

Samuchchaya (*समृद्धय*), upon which Dr. Ray has copiously drawn in his *History*, shows that the Hindu chemists were far ahead of their European contemporaries of the 13th and 14th centuries A. D. Before the publication of the first volume of the *History*, the world had a very meagre idea of the scientific acumen of the ancient Hindus in the department of Chemistry. But since its publication, "a new and interesting chapter has been added to the history of Sciences and of human progress,"—we are quoting the words of Mons. P. E. Berthelot, that great French *savant* of the last century, whose synthesis of Formic Acid and of Alcohol and researches in thermo-chemistry and agricultural chemistry have now become classic. In the other volume, which was published last year and which is a continuation of the first, Dr. Ray has gone further and made good the claim of Hindu Chemistry to a scientific development, independent of the Greek, or indeed, any other foreign influence. He has shewn that the development of Hindu Chemistry, is the outcome of the arduous and continuous efforts of the different sages, prominent among whom was Nagarjuna, in the pursuit of alchemy or chemistry. In his treatise on alchemy (chemistry),—*Rasa-ratnakara* (*रसरात्नाकर*), Nagarjuna comes in as a friend of King Salivahana—a connexion which has the support of an old tradition, as also his disciple Ratnaghosa. Alchemy was introduced into the sphere of Buddhism by Nagarjuna, having been almost neglected up to that time. Mons Sylvain Levi, one of the foremost orientlists and *savants* of the day, writing a review of Dr. Ray's *History* (vol. II) in the columns of a leading French journal, *Journal Asiatique*, records the following observations:—"Dr. Ray has undoubtedly proved the grand *role* played by Buddhist monks in alchemy and the preponderating part of Buddhism in *Tantric* literature". "Even in the 13th century A. D.", continues the same authority, "a Hindu chemist, Govindacharya, the author of *Rasa-sara* (*रससार*) declares to have composed his work after having derived his information from *Buddhist* sources, as also from the *Buddhists of Tibet*". Besides *Buddhist* chemists, as noted by Mons. Levi in the course of the same review, there were a good many *Hindu* chemists, and "Dr. Ray notices a good many *Hindu* chemical *tantras* and gives the summary of them and continues the list up to the 17th century A. D." (*Sylvain Levi*). Among these *Hindu* chemical works reviewed by Dr. Ray in his book, the following may be specially mentioned,— (1) *Rasendrachuramani* (*रसेन्द्रचूडामणि*), (2) *Rasendrachintamani* (*रसेन्द्रचिन्तामणि*), (3) *Rasarat-nasamuchchaya* (*रसरत्नसमृद्धय*), and (4) *Rasasara* (*रससार*), the last two of which have already been referred to. The part played by Bud-

dhist monks in the development of the chemical science was indeed remarkable; but it should be noted, as the author of *Hindu Chemistry* shows, that the Buddhist *Tantras* concerning the science received their development in the Hindu *Tantric* works on Chemistry and were indeed finally absorbed in them.

II

Indeed, the picture of chemical knowledge in ancient India which Dr. Ray unfolds before the astonished gaze of the modern Indian, as well as the modern European, is fascinating to a degree. Dr. Ray has traced the history of Chemistry in India from the pre-Buddhist times down to the middle of the 16th century A.D. He has divided the whole period under four divisions of time, namely, (1) the *Āyurvedic*, (2) the *Transitional*, (3) the *Tantric*, and (4) the *Iatro-chemical* periods; the first extending from the pre-Buddhist era to the 9th century A.D., the second from the 9th to the 12th century, the third from the 12th to the 14th, and the fourth from the 14th to 1550 A.D. The greatest name in Hindu Chemistry is, as we have seen, Nagarjuna of the second century A.D., the author of *Rasa-ratnakara* (रसरातार). Nagarjuna's zeal in the study of the science was emulated by a succession of devoted Buddhist monks, with the result that a considerable number of Buddhist alchemical *tantras* were produced. To Dr. Ray belongs the credit of bringing out prominently into view "the grand role played by Buddhist monks in alchemy and the preponderating part of Buddhism in the *tantric* literature," to repeat the words, already quoted, of Mons. Levi. In Dr. Ray's second volume of *Hindu Chemistry*, published last year (the first volume having originally appeared in 1902), some fifteen new chemical *tantras* have been brought to light, most of them buried in oblivion in dark recesses in tattered manuscripts. Says Dr. Ray, "when the first volume was under preparation it was feared many valuable works on Hindu Chemistry referred to in *Rasarnava*, *Rasa-ratnasamuchchaya*, etc., have been lost for ever." Some of these, hitherto supposed to have been lost, have been recovered by Dr. Ray through a vigorous search in the libraries of Benares, Kashmir, Nepal and the Deccan. The chemical work *Rasarnava* (रसार्णव) to which Dr. Ray refers belongs to the third period of Hindu Chemistry (9th to 12th century A.D.), whose text is being edited in the *Bibliotheca Indica* by Dr. Ray, in collaboration with Pandit Harish Chandra Kaviratna of Calcutta. The other chemical work, *Rasa-ratnasamuchchaya*, belongs to the fourth period—fourteenth to sixteenth century A.D. The search in the Durbar Library of Nepal, has been productive of one striking result, namely, the discovery of an old *Saiva Tantra* on Chemistry,

the *Kubjika-tantra* which is copied in *Gupta* characters of the sixth century A.D. The search in the Deccan libraries has led to the discovery of many Buddhist *Tantras* dealing with Chemistry. The Deccan was completely cut off from all outside intercourse, and says Dr. Ray, "it is precisely in these regions, which were cut off from all intercourse with the outside world, that Indian alchemy flourished." Among the many chemical works which the Doctor has rescued from oblivion, the most worthy of mention are, (1) the Buddhist *Tantra, Rasa-ratnakara*, which is a later redaction of an earlier work by Nagarjuna; (2) the *Rasahridaya* of Bhikshu Govinda; and (3) the *Rasaratnasamuchchaya* of the fourth period of Hindu Chemistry. The chemical *tantras*, Buddhist and Hindu, to which we have referred, are evidently later works; but earlier evidences of possession of chemical knowledge by the Hindus are preserved and incorporated in general *medical* works, like the *Samhitas* of Charaka and Susruta, or the *Ashtangahridaya* of Vagbhata, or the till later works of Vrinda and Chakrapani Datta.

III

As usual, some of our foreign critics have been telling us that the knowledge of Chemistry displayed by the earlier Hindu medical writers, Charaka and Susruta for instance, must have been borrowed knowledge; for, how could India in those ancient days aspire to a knowledge which has come to the European through the slow growth of the centuries? Thus, Mons. Berthelot, the French *savant*, to whom Dr. Ray owed, indeed, his inspiration in his historical investigations into Indian Chemistry,—was so much struck with the originality of the Hindu process of preparing *caustic alkali* as given in the *Susruta Samhita*, that he went so far as to suggest that that portion of Susruta was modern, and, in fact, a later addition derived from contact with European chemists. But, thanks to the labours of Dr. Ray, the indigenous character of the origin and growth of Hindu Chemistry has been firmly established. A whole chapter has been devoted to a consideration of the indigenous sources of Indian Chemistry; and Dr. Ray has been able to produce a mass of evidence in support of that position. Thus, to refute Prof. Berthelot, with special reference to the question of the Hindu process of preparing caustic alkali, Dr. Ray mentions two other Hindu medical writers, Vagbhata and Chakrapani Datta, both of whom lived before the 11th century A. D. and both of whom refer to the particular chemical process described by Susruta. Another independent piece of evidence cited by the Doctor is the fact that caustic alkali was used for the cauterization of bad wounds, as mentioned in the "questions of King Milinda, who flourished in the second century B. C."

And in various other ways the Doctor has established the claim of the originality of the Hindus and has shown that, far from borrowing the knowledge of Chemistry from the West, the Hindus were rather the teachers of the Arabians (the Moors) who in their turn helped to spread it in Europe. The comparatively modern dates of Hindu *Tantric* works on Chemistry, together with the fact that the Moors made great progress in alchemy and medicine in a previous period of history, suggested the idea to the minds of many scholars that the Hindus were largely indebted to the Moors for their chemical knowledge as displayed in their works. But the theory of borrowing from the Moors, although plausible, has been completely knocked on the head by Dr. Ray, who has shewn that in the Middle Ages or about the time of the Mahomedan invasion of India, the Hindus far from remaining behind the Arabs and the Westerns were, in their knowledge of chemical and metallurgical processes, far ahead of their contemporaries in other parts of the world. Also, it is acknowledged on all hands that the great Buddhist patriarch to whom we have so often referred—Siddha Nagarjuna (as he was called) of the second century A. D. was the discoverer of the chemical processes of distillation, sublimation, etc. And lastly, the grand *role* played by Buddhist monks in the development of the chemical science has been indisputably established by Dr. Ray and the proofs adduced by him have been accepted by scholars and *savants*. And we have seen, also, that the Hindu *Tantric* chemical works were only a development of the Buddhist *Tantric* works on the subject. And lastly, not only in the department of Inorganic Chemistry, but also in Organic Chemistry, the Hindus had made an advance, and Principal B. N. Seal of the Cooch Behar College, Bengal,—in an independent section which is incorporated in Dr. Ray's *History*—has given an account of the constitution of the *fats and oils and the organic tissues*. "He has also briefly noticed the chief chemical industries of the Hindus which secured for them an easy pre-eminence in manufactures for a thousand years; and has unearthed some interesting Hindu *recipes* relating to matters of chemical technology, *e. g.*, searing of hard rocks to enable them to be cut or pulverised; hardening of steel; preparation of cements for rocks, metals etc."

Thus, the labours of Dr. Ray in the department of scientific history have borne abundant fruit in the discovery of documents which no amount of cavilling may reject or repudiate, and which go to show that the development of Hindu Chemistry in Ancient India was the outcome of Hindu genius and Hindu originality and of arduous and continuous efforts of Hindu sages in the pursuit of the science,

Dr. Ray had, indeed, raised India in the estimation of the civilised world by his brilliant chemical discoveries. But his latest achievement, his two volumes on the History of Hindu Chemistry, has secured for her a lasting place in the intellectual hierarchy of nations.

PROGRESS OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN NATIVE INDIAN STATES—PART II

(Continued from pp. 209-211 of Part I of the December, 1909 issue of this journal)

I Technical Education in Baroda State : Introductory

Baroda stands perhaps the foremost among the Native Indian States in the matter of providing Technical education for its subjects. Higher Technical education of the student population of the State is provided in the Central Technical Institute called the Kala-Bhavan, which is one of the highest and most flourishing institutions of its kind in India. Students are also sent abroad, both in India and outside, with State Scholarships for a higher technical training. Then, there are special industrial schools for the industrial training of the students belonging to the middle class people. The training of the artisan class, a subject of so vast an importance and yet, which has hardly drawn the attention of our educated people, has secured the best attention of the State and it is there, in Baroda, that we must see what earnest efforts are being made to save this important section of our people, the artisans, from hopelessly being turned into day-labourers. Then again, there are orphanages, schools for the Forest Tribes, manual training classes, etc., which more or less impart industrial training to the students. Further, there are agricultural schools, stations and farms, where practical agricultural education is imparted. In course of the whole of this article we will treat all these institutions giving a short review of the progress made by each of them.

II The Central Technical Institute, the Kala-Bhavan of Baroda

The Kala-Bhavan has at present only six Departments, namely, (1) Mechanical Engineering, (2) Civil Engineering (Architecture), (3) Chemical Technology (Dyeing), (4) Art (Pure and Applied), (5) Weaving and (6) Commercial Training, besides Evening Classes for Artisans. The Department of Watch-making was abolished in September, 1908, while that of Pedagogy has been replaced by a separate Training College at Baroda. The Kala-Bhavan is so big an organisation, that we are compelled to treat it in a separate article to appear in a future issue of this journal. Here we would content ourselves by offering only one or two

general observations : At present about seven-hundred students are receiving technical education in Kala-Bhavan and their annual out-turn is about 200 on an average. It is also noteworthy that so much as 42 students belonging to the other Native Indian States in Gujarat and Kathiawad are receiving the benefits of technical education there. The Institution is gaining so much popularity day by day, that in some of the most popular branches admissions have to be regulated owing to want of sufficient accommodation by a competitive examination. Thus, during the year 1908 as many as 169 candidates presented themselves at the Entrance Examination held by the College, but only 43 could be taken up in the Mechanical Engineering Class. Passed students from the College find ample employment in the State and elsewhere and a good many of them take to industrial pursuits and help in the establishment and conduct of mills and factories which are fast increasing in the State.

III Divisional Industrial Schools

During the year, 1908 there were three Divisional Industrial Schools, one at Navasari, another at Padra and the third at Amreli. Recently, however, a technical school called the Tata Technical School has been started at Navasari, with the special aim of preparing students in Mechanical Engineering. There is every likelihood of this School either replacing the already existing industrial school at Navasari or being amalgamated with it. The Industrial Schools provide extensive practical education in which the students are trained for special industries, such as dyeing and bleaching, and carpentry. On an average, more than 100 boys are receiving education in these schools and their annual out-turn came to up about 50 in the year, 1908.

IV Industrial School for Artisans

For the industrial training of the artisan class, there is (1) an *Evening Class for Artisans* attached to the Kala-Bhavan. The Class provides suitable instruction in the technical principles underlying the most important mechanical trades to artisans and craftsmen such as carpenters, joiners, wood-turners, gold and silver smiths, copper-smiths, blacksmiths, potters, etc., who are generally occupied during daytime in their own respective professions. Men already employed in the trades get an opportunity to broaden their mechanical training and make themselves more efficient workmen, whose need is so badly felt in India. - The number of carpenters having sufficiently increased, arrangement for teaching the theory of carpentry has been made since April, 1908. At the end of the official year 1908, there were 15 carpenters and joiners, 8 wood turners, 7 smiths, 11 bricklayers, 1 barber,

4 Kharwas, 7 potters and 4 others. The artisans are also taught the elementary lessons in Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and Drawing.

V Schools For Forest Tribes

There are four Boarding Schools for the boys and girls of the Dhanka and other forest tribes, of which there are two at Songad, one at Vyara and the fourth at Mahuwa. There are at present about 350 students on the rolls. There are agricultural farms attached to the Boarding Schools at Songad and Vyara covering 50 and 30 bighas of land respectively, where every facility is given to the Dhanka boys to learn their ancestral profession of agriculture according to both Eastern and Western methods. Carpentry forms an additional subject so that they may be enabled to repair their agricultural implements and prepare wooden articles of everyday use and not be dependent on carpenters every time their services may be required. The girls in the Songad Boarding School have to attend the lace-making class, while the grown up among them are also sent at stated times to work on the farm. During the year 1908, 75 boys from Songad and 97 from Vyara appeared for the examination in Carpentry, of whom 53 and 89 passed respectively.

VI Industrial Training in the Orphanages

The state maintains two regular orphanages, one at Amreli and the other at Songad, attached to the Boarding School there. There are more than a hundred orphans receiving education there. Grown up orphans are allowed to learn some useful occupation so that when discharged under the rules of the State, they can earn a livelihood without difficulty. The principal occupations that are taught are tailoring, masonry, carpentry, weaving, shoe-making, sewing and drawing.

VII School for the Practical Training of the Patels

With a view to train up the sons of Patels and Mukhies—the future headmen of villages for revenue work, a Boarding School has been started at Amreli, where elementary instruction in civil and criminal work, which the boys will be called upon to perform in the latter part of their life, is given side by side with agricultural instruction. Outsiders are also allowed to attend the school provided their parents bear the expenses. At present there are about fifty students in the school. The course of instruction extends over two years and comprises (1) Agriculture both theoretical and practical, (2) Revenue, Civil and Criminal work, (3) Surveying and (4) Knowledge of all subjects comprised in the vernacular standard VI. The sons of Patels are housed and fed *gratis*; others have to pay Rs. 5 per month.

SWADESHI INDIA OR INDIA WITHOUT CHRISTIAN INFLUENCES : AN EXPOSITION AND A DEFENCE—PART VII

(Continued from pp. 9-16 of January, 1910 number of this journal)

SECTION XXIII

(A)

We have been emphasising the point of view that in a study of *Swadeshi India* (as we have termed her, to convey the idea of India standing on her own feet, and growing by the stamina and virility of her native impulses, untouched by Christian influences)—that in such a study, one of the best illustrations of her native life and strength will be found in the Indianisation which she effected in the lives and institutions of outside countries, like Java, for instance. And we have, in the last preceding part, Part VI, of this series of articles, tried our best to make clear generally, on the basis of facts drawn from unimpeachable sources, that the Indianisation of Ceylon was a reality. It was our purpose in this article to deal with the subject of *Sinhalese hospitals* specially—as an illustration of such Indianisation;—the facts at our disposal on the subject of *Sinhalese hospitals* under Indian (Buddhist) influences being in no sense meagre, but, if anything, abundant in scope and fairly convincing in their character. But the modern Indian, having been hypnotised by the idea that India has only to receive and not to give, that India's growth in the future is less in her own hands and more in the hands of the present dominant races of the world, is, perhaps, startled by the strange thought that in days gone by, such Indianisation of outside countries was a reality, that she it was who dispensed the blessings of civilisation far and near, thus occupying a position of dominance, similar to what the West fills in the modern world. We cannot, therefore, insist too often upon bringing to light facts and figures relating to this part of our subject and to drive home the idea into the Indian mind of the present day, that the Indianisation of countries outside India was the work of *Swadeshi India* in days gone by, when the Christian religion had not even come into being, or when Christianity had not begun to be appreciated as of any real value in the West itself. From this point of view it seems to us that a little more preliminary work is needed before we start upon our more immediate inquiry into the subject of *Sinhalese hospitals* as the work of Indian influences through centuries extending from the 3rd century B. C. down to the 13th A.D.

(B)

The Indianisation of Ceylon, of Java, and of Cambodia (in Further India) are now established facts of history accepted by all oriental scholars; and those who have read Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, and Havell's *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, or the

(1811-1816), and similar other standard works will not require to be told that such was really the case. We have already in Section XXII, (*vide*, January, 1910 issue) referred to the magnificent sculptures of the Temple of Borobuder in Java, wholly the product of Indian influences. Says Sister Nivedita, "What we call Buddhism reaches its noblest, largest and most distinct expression in the temple of Borobuder in Java between 650 and 750 A.D." Again, "the civilisation of Java was Hinduistic, and this fact is well-illustrated in her art, from 950 to 1500 A.D. * * It is Hinduism again which has produced her great literatures of the whole Indian world, and therefore the arts that illustrate them. The sculptured Ramayanas and Mahabharatas of Javanese, Cambodian, and Southern Temples are all equally the creation of Indian workmen and Indian ideals."*

In Havell's *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, there is a distinct chapter—chapter vii—which is devoted to and is entitled "Hindu Art in Java and Kambodia", where we read of a great temple, the *Nakhon Vat*, near Ankhon in Cambodia (in Further India)—"the outer enclosure of it measuring two-thirds of a mile on each of the four sides," and, of "the sculptures illustrating the Ramayana and the Mahabharata which decorated the walls of the temple" (p. 137). Fergusson in his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*. (p. 666) speaks of "*Nakhon Wat*" as "the last of a series of temples as large and as richly ornamented as any to be found in any other part of the world, and if not the greatest, at least the best from the architectural point of view." With regard to the Hindu character of the temple we have the following from the same authority,—"The most wonderful parts, however, of these colonnades of *Nakhon Wat* are the sculptures that adorn the walls, rather than the architecture that shelter them. * * Generally speaking, these reliefs represent battle-scenes of the most animated description, taken from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. (pp. 672-3) "Casts of these fine sculptures," Says Mr. Havell, "are in the Ethnographic Museum at Berlin." And to quote the same authority, "the subject of these sculptures is the well-known Indian legend, told in the Ramayana, of the churning of the ocean by the gods and *asuras* in order to procure *amrita*, the nectar of immortality. This is treated with immense imaginative power and sense of movement. Most of the other subjects are battle-scenes from the Mahabharata, which are described with extreme elaboration and wonderful vigour." (*Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 137). Havell speaks of the sculptures adorning the temple of *Nakhon Vat* as "another great monument of Indian Art, which bears witness to the maritime enterprise of Indian races in former times (p. 136). In Fergusson's opinion, about 319 A.D. there was a migration into

Cambodia from India from somewhere near Taxila, or the country near about Kashmir (p. 668). Says he :—"Many would be inclined to doubt the possibility of any communication between the two countries, but it must be borne in mind that the country round Taxila in ancient times was called Camboja; that the architecture of Kashmir bears very considerable resemblance to that of Cambodia; *while there is a general consent that the Cambodians came from India.* * * As pointed out above, the Indians who introduced Buddhism and Buddhist architecture into Java went there from Gujarat or the countries on the west coast. This hardly seems doubtful, and there is no greater improbability of a migration from the Indus to Cambodia than of one from Gujarat to Java" (pp. 665-66). Mr. Havell seems to follow Mr. Fergusson generally in this matter, for at page 136 of the book from which we have so often quoted, we read,—“about the fourth century A.D. a band of adventurers from the country round Takshasila, called the Kamboja, seems to have set off from the west coast of India as the colonists of Java did a few centuries later, and eventually founded a kingdom in the south-eastern corner of Asia, which they named after their native country.* They carried with them the art traditions of the Kashmir school; and in the centuries which followed, down to the 12th, when the Kingdom (Cambodia) was annexed to that of Siam, there the descendants built a series of temples which, according to Fergusson, are “as large and as richly ornamented as any to be found in any part of the world.”

(C)

As in Cambodia, so in Java, or even more so, the process of Indianisation was at work in days gone by, and cannot in any way be doubted. Reference has already been made in Section XXII to the magnificent sculptures of the Buddhist temple of Borobuder in Java, described with some wealth of detail in the pages of Fergusson, of Havell and of Sir Stamford Raffles. “There are abundant traces, both in Sumatra and Java, but especially in the latter, of the existence long anterior to Mahomedanism, of a very complete Hindu civilization. How this came about, whether by conquest or pacific conversion, it is now impossible to say. Nor have we any historical records to show us what Hindu nation it was that exercised the first civilising influence. In Java, indeed, a great Hindu Empire continued right down to the year 1475 A. D., when the conversion to Mahomedanism took place and numerous ruined shrines testify how widespread was the earlier faith. But the conquering or proselytising Hindu stranger has entirely dis-

* We desire to point out, however, that in the opinion of some scholars, a part at least of the Indian remains in Cambodia and Java must be attributed to colonists from the north-eastern coasts of the Indian continent.

appeared. * * The visible traces of such a civilisation in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula are much more feeble than in Java ; they are, indeed, confined to a few ruins and inscriptions on stones and rocks, the former of doubtful import, and the latter practically undecipherable though the character is the Sanskrit or Pali." (*Vide* Mr. W. A. O'Sullivan's article, No. 36, pp. 67-74 on *the Relation between the Southern India and the Straits Settlements*, in the July, 1901 number of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Settlements Branch). Evidences of the stupendous Hinduisation of the island are to be found on the site of the capital of the old Hindu Empire in Java, known as Prambanam, (or Brambanam—*Fergusson*), which is situated in the district of *Metarem* near the centre of the island and at a distance of twenty miles from the great Buddhist temple of Borobuder. This spot, "the old capital of the Hindu Javanese Empire"* was, to quote the language of Sir Stamford Raffles, "the headquarters of Hinduism in Java." Here stands and stood the *Chandi Sewa*, which is the Javanese equivalent of "Thousand Temples" about which we read the following in the pages of Raffles,† the British Governor of the island in the early part of the 19th century :—" In the whole course of my life I have never met with such stupendous and finished specimens of human labour and of the science and taste of ages long since forgot, crowded together in so small a compass as in this little spot, which, to use a military phrase, I deem to have been the headquarters of Hinduism in Java."

That *Prambanam* was, truly, the headquarters of Hinduism and that the Indianisation of the island was as thorough as thorough could be, would, indeed, be evident from the sculptured Ramayanas and Mahabharatas still standing on the site, and whose date, according to Raffles, Fergusson, and Havell would appear to be the 11th century A. D. "The courtyard of one of the temples dedicated to Vishnu at Prambanam," writes Mr. Havell, "is decorated with a remarkable series of pictures illustrating the great Hindu Epic, the Ramayana. * * The extravagant fables of the exploits of Rama's monkey allies are told almost in the spirit of burlesque, and the imagination of the sculptors sometimes runs wild in trying to depict the horrors of the trackless jungles and their demon inhabitants. * * * One of the pictures illustrates the beginning of the Ramayana legend which tells how *Dasaratha*, king of Ayodhya, being childless, obtains from Vishnu by

* Fergusson, p. 651; Havell, p. 133. .

† *Vide* p. 16 of vol II of the *History of Java from the Earliest Traditions till the establishment of Mahomedanism*, by Sir Stamford Raffles, F. R. S., formerly Lieutenant-Governor of the Island, and President of the Society of Arts and Industries at Batavia (2nd edition, published in London by John Murray, 1830).

the aid of sacrifices a divine elixir, through drinking which his three wives conceive and bear him four god-like sons, Rama, Lakshana, Satrugma, and Bharata. On the left of the illustration, the god, Vishnu, reclines on the great serpent Ananta, symbolising Eternity, which floats upon the waters, represented, in the picture, as teeming with varied forms of marine life. The grotesque figure on Vishnu's right with a bird's back and claws is Garuda, the Deity's *Vahan* or vehicle. The charming group of human figures on Vishnu's left is supposed by Dr. Groneman to represent *Dasaratha* surrounded by his barren wives, receiving from Vishnu the magic potion. * * * The rest of the panel appears to represent a scene in the court of *Dasaratha*." (Havell's *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, pp. 133-34). Another picture "shows Rama and his devoted brother Lakshana in their forest retreat after the fatal decree of banishment, obtained by the youngest queen's jealous intrigue, had driven them from the court of Ayodhya. The weird but amiable figure in the cave or hut on the left is apparently one of the friendly hermits who afforded them shelter in the jungle. The subject of the two slabs on the right seems to be the first meeting of Rama with the vulture king, Jatayu, who warned him of the demons of the forest and their vile enchantments, and of the perils which beset Rama's wife, the lovely Sita, when the brothers were hunting." (*Ibid*, p. 135).

(D)

Nor is this evidence of the stupendous influence of Indian civilisation in the island of Java confined to the Buddhist temple at Borobuder or the Hindu "Thousand Temples" at Prambanam, the old capital of the Hindu Empire in the centre of the island. "There is still another class of temples in Java," says Fergusson (pp. 653-4) "which are found principally in the province of Kediri and Malang, in the eastern part of the island." One of these—the temple of Parataram in Kediri, we learn from the same authority, has been photographed, and contains clear evidences of Indian influence; for we read in Fergusson (p. 654) that "the basement of the third storey of the temple is ornamented with numerous bas-reliefs on panels representing subjects taken principally from the *Ramayana*."

Again, in the other eastern district of Java—that of Malang, to which Fergusson refers in the above extract, we have the famous ruins of *Singa-sari* which are so many standing memorials of Hindu influence and Hindu civilisation in the island. "Proceeding," says Raffles (vol II, p. 45), "into the forest we found several images of the Hindu mythology in excellent preservation and more highly executed than any we had previously seen in the island. In the centre without protection from the weather, was the bull *Nandi*, quite perfect with the exception of the

horns one of which was lying by the side of it. This image is about five feet and a half long, in high preservation, and of excellent proportion and workmanship. Near the bull and placed against it is a magnificent Brahma. The five heads are perfect except that there is a mutilation about the nose. The figure is highly ornamented and is more highly dressed than is usual. Next far off we noticed *Mahadewa* known by his trident. On the stone from which this is cut in relief are several Devanagari characters. A car or chariot of *Suria* or the Sun with seven horses of which the heads are wanting, was the only other object of antiquity in this group. At a distance of about a hundred yards we were conducted to a magnificent *Ganesa*." And we learn from Havell (pp. 61-62) that *Singasari* in Java boasts also of a statue of the Hindu goddess, *Durga*, as the destroyer of *Mahishasura*, the demon. Says he,—“Hindu sculpture has produced a masterpiece in the great stone alto-relievo of Durga slaying the demon, Mahisa, found at *Singasari*, in Java, and now in the Ethnographic Museum, Leyden. It belongs to the period of Brahmanical ascendancy in Java which lasted from about A. D. 950 to 1500. The goddess is striding over the prostrate carcass of the buffalo, in which disguise Mahisha had concealed himself, and seizing the real dwarf-like form of the demon, she is preparing to deal him his death-blow.”

This account of the process of Indianising of Java through purely Hindu influences as distinguished from the Buddhist influences which preceded the Hinduising process and must have led up to it,—this account of the Indianisation of the land would be incomplete if we did not refer, however briefly, to another group of temples on the Dieng plateau in Central Java. “They are,” says Fergusson, “Indian temples pure and simple and dedicated to Indian gods.” One of these temples is dedicated to *Bhima*, the great hero of the Mahabharata. With reference to this, Havell writes (pp. 142-3)—“Two ethnical types of extraordinary beauty are given in plates 41 and 42. The first two in plate 41 represent *Bhima*, one of the great heroes of the Mahabharata, famous for his strength and courage. They are taken from a temple dedicated to him in the plateau of Deing in Central Java.” There would be nothing remarkable in a temple or temples like this, dedicated to any of the principal figures of the Mahabharata, for we read:—“In the 8th or 9th century A. D. the Javanese obtained an abridged translation of the Mahabharata and under the title of *Brata Yudha*” (? Bharata Yuddha) “adopted it as a part of their own history, assigning sites on the island for all the principal scenes of that celebrated struggle which took place in the neighbourhood of Delhi and Hastinapur” (Fergusson, p. 640). And at p. 435 of vol. I of Sir Stamford Raffles's *History of Java*, a work from which we have already quoted, we find the following reference to

this adoption by the Javanese of the Indian Mahabharata history as part of their own. There we read:—"The history of the succeeding period is contained in the Brata Yudha or holy war, the most popular and most esteemed work in the Javanese language. This poem is identified in its subject with that of Mahabharata of continental India, in the same manner as that of Rama with the Ramayana."

SECTION. XXIV

(A)

The Hindu influences to which we have referred in the preceding section, (including the sculptured Ramayanas and Mahabharatas of Javanese and Cambodian temples), must not be supposed as the only, or, in fact, the most important of the influences at work. Buddhist influences as evidenced in the magnificent Buddhist sculptures of the Borobuder temple played a no less important, but rather a commanding part, in her history. Buddhism, however, must not be dissociated from Hinduism, for Buddhist influences are not so separate from Hindu, as some might suppose, for they always led up to the latter and preceded it also. As remarked by Sister Nivedita in one of her happy modes of expression—"Whatever we may find to say about Buddhism, we have always to come back, sooner or later to the fact that it was Hinduism."

* * Even the sculpture of Buddhism, supreme in quality as that undoubtedly is, springs out of the soil, and stands out against the back ground of Hindu sculpture, and often cannot be disentangled from it.* Thus, the Buddhist elements and the Hinduising elements in the Indian civilisation of Java must both be considered as correlated parts of one whole. After this preliminary word of caution, we may proceed to mention some of the marvellous evidences of the process of thorough Indianisation under Buddhist influences as evidenced by the sculptured reliefs of the Borobuder temple. "It is not," as has been well pointed out by Fergusson, "either for its dimensions or the beauty of its architectural design that Borobuder is so remarkable, *as for the sculptures that line its galleries*" (p. 647). "The whole of the great building," remarks Mr. Havell, "from the basement to the seventh storey was adorned with a series of wonderful sculptures and bas-reliefs, extending in the aggregate for a length of nearly three miles, and expounding in ordered sequence the history, the mythology, and philosophy of the Buddhist faith.† For the devout Buddhist pilgrims who paced these sculptured galleries they were illustrated scriptures, which even the most ignorant could read, telling in living words the life-story and message of the Master. * * These reliefs give one hundred and twenty scenes from the life of Buddha, and a similar number from the *Jatakas*—the legends of His previous births" (Havell, p. 144). And continues the same authority, "the great charm of the Borobuder sculptures lies in their absolute truth of expression. * * The artists who conceived these sculptures were not aiming at the applause of their fellowmen, but trying to tell the story of the Master in the way they conceived He had told it, offering their labour and skill as a devout gift to His shrine." (*Ibid*, p. 117). The following description of some of the more notable sculptured pictures is also taken from Havell. In one of the pictures "King Siddhodhana, the father of Prince Siddhartha is distributing presents to *Bhikshus*—devotees who have consecrated themselves to a

* *Modern Review* for November, 1909, p. 488.

† *Vide* also Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 647.

religious life. * * The disciples of the holy men on the left loaded with good things from the King's hands, bring the gifts to their Master with the best of feelings. The first figure, who has two large fruits in his hands, offers them tenderly and lovingly." In another picture, "the dancer is performing before a prince, no doubt an incident in the early life of Buddha, when he was known as the Prince Siddhartha! The prince seated on the throne with his wife at his side is a noble, pensive figure. He is pleased with the music and the dance, but his thoughts are far, far away." Another picture shows Prince Siddhartha "when he was competing with other Sakya lords, his cousins, at the feats-of-arms for the hand of the fair Yasodhara." Another picture "shows us Prince Siddhartha again, before the heavenly dignity of Buddhahood had transfigured him." Another illustration "represents Maya, the mother of Buddha, seated on her car of State and hastening to the Lumbini Garden, where, as she has learnt in a dream, her son who was to be the salvation of the world, should be born. The male attendants surrounded the car in zealous care of their royal mistress, clearing the path, in front, of any untoward or unseemly thing, and holding the insignia of royalty proudly over her, while the ladies in her train follow behind in lively converse on the coming event." And so on and so on; for, to quote the words of Fergusson, "we have a series of sculptures which, if arranged, consecutively in a row, would extend over nearly three miles of ground." And to quote Fergusson again, "in them we recognise (among other incidents of Buddha's life), "all the familiar scenes of his life, his marriage, and domestic happiness, till he meets the four predictive signs; his subsequent departure from home, and assumption of the ascetic garb; his life in the forest; his preaching in the Deer-garden at Benares—the whole *Lalita Vistara* in short, portrayed with very few variations from the pictures we already possess from Gandhara to Amravati" (p. 647).

(B)

We have, it might be thought, strayed at considerable length from the main subject-matter of our discussion, that of Sinhalese hospitals, but from the point of view of *Swadeshi India*, this apparent departure from the strict lines of our story was not only necessary, but also desirable, nay, even inevitable. The picture of Swadeshi India is a picture which includes and must include Indianised countries outside India, like Ceylon and Java for instance; and it is extremely desirable, nay, imperative, that in recalling the story of the Sinhalese hospitals founded under Indian influence in Ceylon, the whole facts of her Indianisation should be recalled also; and it be further shown that in the earlier days of India's national history, the work of Indianisation of a country like Ceylon was not an isolated fact or circumstance, but only one among a number, the natural expression of an exuberant, abundant national life, with roots in the inner spiritual elements of a people's character. We need hardly say that the story we have related in this part of our article on *Swadeshi India* is a story which is fascinating to a degree. Further, the story is one which, by extending and broadening our vision, would help us to look on Ceylon as an integral part of India (which she had really been in days past); and thus the subject of *Sinhalese hospitals* originating under Indian influence and with a history dating from the 3rd century B.C. down to the 13th, A.D. would acquire an added and an abiding interest.

PART II: TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

CRYING NEED FOR INDUSTRIAL SWADESHI: FACTS AND FIGURES

I

"Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar in his Presidential Speech at the Madras Industrial Conference of 1908 pointed out that even in such a commodity as jute-manufactured goods—for which India possesses enormous natural advantages, having indeed a monopoly of the production of the raw material, she only exports to the value of 18.29 crores* of Rupees, and this is India's largest export of manufactured goods. Now, why is this?" The above question is put by Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E., in one of his letters to the *Hindu* newspaper of Madras and his answer to the question is, as follows;—"Simply because all foreign countries while they buy the Indian raw jute and import it almost free of duty, put on a heavy duty on the import of manufactured jute goods, so as to secure for their own workingmen, the employment that is given by the manufacture."

Similarly, writes Sir Roper in the course of the same letter :—"During my recent stay in Bangalore, my servant bought for me in the Bangalore bazaar at different times, ten boxes of matches—and every one of these had been imported into India from immense distances, not to speak of the journey from a sea-port to Bangalore. Four of these boxes labelled in English the *Three Stars*, the *Tjapling*, the *Grace*, and the *Tobacco*, had been sent from four different factories in Sweden! Three labelled respectively *Takikwawa* and *Naoki* had been sent from Japan! Two labelled the *Queen Alexandra* and the *Broom* had been sent from Austria! And one labelled (evidently for Indian consumption) *Two Elephants*, had been sent from Nitedal in Norway! Now these matches in order to be sold at a profit in Bangalore had borne the charges of original production—as would Indian matches†—and also the freight to Madras or Bombay from such distant countries as those I have named;—the profits of the exporting and importing merchants, the carriage to Bangalore and the profit of the local dealers. Why is this? *Simply because they are closely protected in their own country of production, and then admitted to India, to undersell the indigenous product, at a nominal rate of import duty.*"

* "The only completely manufactured articles which are exported from India in any considerable quantity are jute-goods which last year (1908) came to 18.29 crores of Rupees, cotton twist and yarn which came to 8.97 crores, and cotton piece-goods and other stuffs, 1.79 crores"—*From Mr. Mudholkar's Presidential Speech.*

† Rai Sahib Upendra Nath Kanjilal, F.L.S., Instructor, Imperial Forest College Dehra Dun (which boasts of a fairly well-equipped Wood Museum) in a valuable paper read before the Industrial Conference held at Calcutta in 1906 under the presidency of the Gaekwar of Baroda describes no less than twenty-seven species of trees growing in the Indian jungles that furnish the wood that is suitable for the manufacture of matches and match-boxes.

II

Many of India's industries which possess great possibilities of development have suffered and must continue to suffer from unfair competition from countries much more advanced, where free-trade principles are not recognised. The story of the closing of the Hosiery Department of the Bomanji Petit Mills of Bombay on account of unfair competition from Japan is an illustration in point. Dewan Bahadur P. Rajaratna Mudaliar C. I. E. in his *Welcome Address* as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Fourth Indian Industrial Conference (1908), in reference to this point and generally to the difficulties of the Indian textile export trade from Bombay, spoke to the following effect :—"Our enterprising brethren of the Bombay Presidency have taken the lead in establishing a number of cotton mills which now supply yarn and cloth for home consumption to the extent of thirty per cent. of our requirements, *besides exporting a large quantity of twist and yarn to China and Japan.* This latter (export) trade is, however, in danger of being seriously affected, as China, the chief consumer of our mill-products, has begun to develop her immense industrial resources and *Japan is also becoming a formidable rival of India by protecting her industries by a system of bounties* and thus giving her cotton goods, especially hosiery, an advantage over goods made in India. In consequence of this unfair competition, the large hosiery department of the Bomanji Petit Mills of Bombay has had to be closed." The two ways in which Indian Swadeshi industries have suffered and are suffering from competition with foreign countries are—firstly, Swadeshi goods exported to foreign countries have to pay high duties before being admitted into them; and secondly, foreign goods receiving protective bounties from their own governments with a view to undersell Indian goods in India itself, are dumped down in Indian markets without having to pay any duties at all in this country. These two methods of protecting and encouraging her own manufactures are freely and liberally resorted to by Germany and only in a lesser degree by Japan; while America is not behind-hand in the matter of protecting her own industries by the use of the first method. We have spoken of the closing of the large hosiery department of the Bomanji Petit Cotton Mills. If we turn to the latest Blue-Book—*Tables Relating to the Trade of British India*, we shall find that the imports of hosiery into India from Japan, to compete with and ultimately to cause the closing of such mills as the one just mentioned, have actually increased from the value of £11,000 to £256,000 in 1907-8, in other words over sixfold in the space of four years. Thus, Japan's policy of protecting her industries has been eminently successful in this particular case. Japan has also raised her tariffs against Indian indigo. Similarly, America imposes heavy prohibitory duties on the imports of dressed and tanned skins from India; while Germany not only resorts to prohibitory duties but also grants large bounties in certain cases to bolster up her own industries, and floods the Indian markets with her own products, and is thus ruining Indian sugar and indigo industries.

III

Thus, as Dewan Bahadur P. Rajaratna Madaliar points out in the Address from which we have quoted—"Every country in the world, England alone excepted, resorts to a system of tariffs and bounties to foster her own industries." But England was not always in this position. When in the early part of the nineteenth century, it became necessary for England to develop her own infant cloth manufacturing industry, as the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar points out "every expedient of prohibition, high tariffs, preferential treatment of British manufactures was freely adopted by her," with the result that *now* the country which not very long ago supplied the whole world with cotton textiles, imports over three crore rupees worth of yarn and over forty crores worth of cloth. Those were days when duties were imposed by England deliberately to kill Indian manufactures. In 1813, Calcutta *exported* to London two million sterling of cotton goods; in 1830 all this was gone and Calcutta *imported* two million sterling of British cotton manufactures. The export trade was ruined in some cases by actual prohibition; in others, by prohibitive duties. Let us take the duties which were imposed on the import of Indian manufactures into England in the year 1824. We will take only some of the articles on which duty was levied. Muslins—37½ per cent; calicoes—67½ p.c.; and other cotton manufactures—50 p.c. As pointed out by the Hon'ble Bhupendra Nath Basu in his Presidential Speech at the Seventh of August (1909) Celebration in Calcutta, the present industrial movement—the Industrial Swadeshi,—or the Swadeshi Movement, as it is more popularly called—is seeking to redress to some extent the mischief inflicted in the past. The story is well told in *Mill's History of India*, but a short extract will suffice :—

"It was stated in evidence (in 1813) that the cotton and silk goods of India up to the period could be sold for a profit in the British market at a price from 56 to 60 per cent lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 and 90 per cent on their value, or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have been stopped in the outset, and could scarcely have been again set in motion, even by the power of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of Indian manufacture." In this connexion the following observations of *Friedrich List*, the great German economist and statesman as recorded in his well-known work, *National System of Political Economy*, would be found to be extremely pertinent :—

"Had they (the English) sanctioned the free importation into England of Indian cotton and silk goods, the English cotton and silk manufactories must of necessity have soon come to a stand. India had not only the advantage of cheaper labour and raw material, but also the experience, the skill, and the practice of centuries. The effect of these advantages could not fail to tell under a system of free competition.

"*But England was unwilling to found settlements in Asia in order to become subservient to Asia in manufacturing industry.* She strove for commercial supremacy, and felt that of the two countries maintaining free trade between one another, *that one would be suprem. which sold manufactured goods, while that one would be subservient which could only sell agricultural produce.* In her North-American colonies, England had already acted on these principles in disallowing the manufacture in those colonies of even a single horse-shoe nail, and still more, that no horse-shoe made there should be imported into England. How could it be expected of her that she would give up her own market for manufactures, the basis of her future greatness, to a people so numerous, so thrifty, so experienced and perfect in the old system of manufacture as the *Hindus*? Accordingly England *prohibited the import of the goods dealt in by*

her own factories, the Indian cotton and silk fabric. The prohibition was complete and peremptory. She would have none of these beautiful and cheap fabrics, but preferred to consume her own inferior and more costly stuffs. Was England a fool in so acting? The English Ministers cared not for the acquisition of low priced and perishable articles of manufacture, but for that of a more costly but enduring *manufacturing power*."

IV

The present industrial situation is this. From a manufacturing nation we have become mainly agricultural. A country which supplied the most delicate and costly fabrics to the world, which prepared tools, implements, machines and arms of all descriptions, which manufactured every kind of metal-ware and produced art-ware of the most finished fashion, has become now a producer of foodstuffs and raw material.* The most crying need of the hour, therefore, is the Industrial Swadeshi—or the voluntary *protection* of Indian manufactured goods by the Indian people themselves. To quote the words of Dewan Bahadur P. Rajaratna Modaliar,—“situated as India now is, without capital, without enterprise, without any scientific technical education and training, many of her industries which possess great possibilities of development have suffered and must continue to suffer from unfair competition from countries much more advanced, where free trade principles are not recognised.” The gospel of Swadeshim, rightly understood, is the remedy against this unfair competition. In the language of the Honourable Mr. R. N. Mudholkar,—“Swadeshim is not combative and aggressive, but merely demands from the people support and protection for the *nascent industries* of the country, in the keen competition they have to meet from the established ones of foreign lands. This is a legitimate preference and its propriety is conceded by all fair-minded persons.”* With this view the Gospel of Swadeshim enjoins the Indian people to take the *Swadeshi pledge to purchase Swadeshi goods at a sacrifice*. The Swadeshim of the People has accordingly become associated with a resolution to abstain from buying foreign goods. The reason for this procedure is very neatly put by the Honourable Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu † (at present filling the high office of a member of the Supreme Legislative Council of India)—“We had become so greatly addicted to foreign things, foreign modes, foreign fashions, that strong measures were necessary; the palaces of our princes were hung up with cheap and intolerable daubs; these houses instead of displaying the artistic productions of their country displayed incongruous furniture imported from some third-rate English shop. The middle classes also had completely succumbed. It was the poorer people who still held out against the temptation of the foreign importer, and it was necessary *just as in the case of the habituated drunkard*, to take the Swadeshi pledge.” The Swadeshi of the Indian people, therefore, on account of its being associated with a sacred pledge taken in the name of the Motherland to purchase Swadeshi goods *even at a sacrifice* may, if adhered to, in time do duty for a legal protective tariff such as is imposed by so many foreign Governments to protect and encourage their native manufacturing industries and as has resulted in India being beaten in an unfair competition from countries at present more advanced in scientific knowledge and capacities and owing no allegiance to the principles of Free Trade.

* *Vide R. N. Mudholkar's Address at the Fourth Industrial Conference.*

† *Vide his Presidential Address on the occasion of the Seventh of August (1909) Celebration in Calcutta.*

PART III

SECTION I: NATIONAL EDUCATION MOVEMENT

A COURSE OF LECTURES ON MORAL EDUCATION, BY SIR GOOROO DAS BANERJEE, Kt., M. A., D. L., Ph. D.—II

(Delivered at the Bengal National College :—Continued from page 3, Part
III of January, 1910 number of this magazine)

III. Divisions of Moral Education

(a) Acquiring of Knowledge in Ethics: (b) Practice of Moral acts

This leads us to the two divisions of moral education, knowledge, and practice, and their mutual relation. The first point to note under this head is that they are to some extent dependent on each other. We all know to what extent success in the acquisition of knowledge depends on the observances of certain laws of conduct. In this connection I shall mention only one point to you—the relation between food and the acquisition of knowledge. Recent medical researches in the West tend to confirm the teachings of our Sastras in this respect. It is now believed in certain scientific quarters in Europe that certain classes of food and drink, *e. g.*, wine, meat, etc., generate a large quantity of toxin or poison in the body which disturbs the nervous system and through it the operations of the mind. So we see that, in spite of the Sermon on the Mount, what “goeth into the mouth can corrupt as much, and even more, than what cometh out.” We must remember, however, that the Sermon was addressed to the Jews to whom drinking was unknown, and at a time when the outward distinctions of ceremonial and unceremonial food had more engaged the attention of the Jewish priests and doctors than the inner condition of the soul. It is sometimes asked wherein our National Schools differ from other existing schools and colleges. I can point out to you at least one way in which you can be truly national. It is by adopting, like the older generations of students in this country, *Sattvik* (सात्त्विक) food such as ghee, milk, rice and fruits and pulse, and avoiding *rajasik* (राजसिक) and *tamasik* (तामसिक) food, such as the stale meat from the butcher's shop, and so on. In the matter of the practice of morality I can give you one advice. Every night before you go to sleep, you should think over the moral rules you have violated during the day, just as merchants think of their accounts before leaving their office, and this practice carried on from day to day should enable you to get rid of many bad habits and help in the formation of good ones.

III. Methods of Moral Education

(a) Based on the Sastras (authority); (b) Based on reason; (c) Attempt to reconcile authority with reason

Next, we come to the methods of Moral education. Here it is an important

question to be solved whether moral instruction is to be imparted by appeal to the *Sastras* (*i. e.* Scripture and Authority), or to *Reason*. Both methods, in my opinion, are to be combined in any adequate system of moral instruction. It would have been easier no doubt if we could solely depend on the first method, viz., appeal to authority. But, as you all know, authorities themselves differ, and how is one to reconcile these differences, or to make a choice between conflicting authorities, if not with the aid of reason? It is certainly the duty of the patient or his relatives to follow implicitly the directions of the physician, but it is also the duty of the physician, expert as he is in his profession, to satisfy his employers that he is following a reasonable course in his treatment of the patient. For it was by an exercise of reason on the part of these same laymen that the choice was made, not only of the particular doctor to be called in, but also of the special mode of treatment, whether Kaviraji, Hakimi, Allopathy or Homœopathy. Just so, in the case of moral instruction, the choice of authority lies with the individual reason, and there is no reason why it should be required to cease all its operations as soon as that choice has been made. The individual reason, the individual conscience, must after all be the final judge in the matter of moral decision. And the *Sastras* themselves corroborate the same view as will appear from the following enumeration of the sources of *Dharma*, from *Manu-Samhita* :—

वेदोऽखिलो धर्ममूलं स्मृतिगोत्रे च तद्विधान् ।
आचारश्चैव शास्त्रागमनस्तृष्टिरेव च ॥

“The whole Veda is the (first) source of *dharma*, next the tradition and the virtuous conduct of those who know (the Veda further), also the customs of holy men, and (finally), *self-satisfaction*.”

But at the same time we must remember that the *Sastras* or the authoritative scriptures of any nation record the decisions of the wisest men of that nation. So, instead of rejecting the *Sastric* injunctions as soon as they fail to appeal to our individual reason, we must try in the first instance to see if they can be reconciled with reason. For the intellect of the individual is itself limited in its scope, and requires to be constantly checked by the collective reason of humanity, and specially of the wiser section of humanity, as recorded in the *Sastras* yup. before we proceed to discuss the injunctions of the old Rishis and Saints of humanity we must ourselves by constant and unceasing efforts raise ourselves to such a high level of knowledge and conduct that we may be worthy to sit at their feet.

NATIONAL EDUCATION OUTSIDE THE NATIONAL COUNCIL: MOVEMENT FOR EDUCATION OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES AND OF THE MASSES GENERALLY.—II

(Continued from pp. 3-7 of the January, 1910 number of this journal)

Beginnings of Work in Bengal

I

Although Bengal cannot boast of a bright record of past work like the Punjab, or the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, still it is gratifying to note that the leaven has begun to work and that the subject of education of the depressed classes has begun to attract public attention. A number of primary schools were started some time ago in Backergunge and in other districts. Among those who helped in the formation of such schools in the early days of the Swadeshi movement (1905-6) were the well-known Swadesh Bandhab Samiti of Backergunge, now no longer in existence having been suppressed by executive order. Organisations like the Depressed Class Mission organised by the Brahmo Samaj with its head-quarters at Maliet near Narail in the Jessore District, and the Anath Seba Bhandar of Ichapore in the district of the 24-Pergunnahs, have quite recently sprung up in Bengal and are doing good work by opening schools for the education of the depressed classes. The former has, we understand, up to this time established a Day School at Maliet in the midst of a cluster of Namasudra villages with about a hundred boys and a small number of girls on the rolls, and a Night School with about forty students. There is another Day School under the general supervision of the Mission (receiving a small grant-in-aid) situated about a mile away and with about forty students on the rolls. Another Mission, known as the Khasia Mission started by the Brahmo Samaj in Assam, is doing a good deal of practical work by way of providing education for the Khasia tribes of the hilly country. The most recent news as regards the activity of the Samaj in this respect comes from Dacca where the workers have similarly laid their hands on the important task of educating the Depressed Classes. One of the workers has been stationed in a village full of these people where he has opened two primary schools for boys and girls and one night school for labourers. The Namasudras themselves have taken up the work in such right earnest that the boys' school, though opened only a few months ago, already counts sixty or sixty-five pupils whilst the girls' school counts 50 pupils. Efforts are also now being made to start primary schools in the Backergunge and Khulna districts and the well-known physician of Calcutta, Dr. Pran Krishna Acharya, M.A., B.L., 56, Harrison Road, has been interesting himself in the above movement and has invited workers to help it. Further, a Depressed Class Mission has been started under the auspices of the Bengal Social Reform Association, 62, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta, of which the Secretary is Sj. Prithwis Chandra Ray, Editor of the well-known monthly, the *Indian World* of Calcutta. The Mission has decided to work among the depressed classes of Eastern Bengal and Chota Nagpore and has secured the

services of one of the members of the "Servants of India Society," kindly lent by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. This gentleman accompanied by two volunteer Bengali workers went out on a tour into some of the interior districts last month (December) and are expected to furnish a report of their work very soon.

The most recent and encouraging news about the progress of the movement for education of the depressed classes in the district of Backergunge comes from the rising trading town of Jhalakati, where both the Hindu higher castes and the *Namasudras* have joined hands. On the 20th January, 1910, a largely attended meeting of the *Namasudra* community was held in the premises of the National School at Jhalakati under the presidency of the Naib of the Gurudhan Bhukailas Raj-Estate. Many local gentlemen belonging to the higher classes, attended it. Representatives of the *Namasudra* community, some 50 in number, from the neighbouring villages attended. The Head Master of the local National School, in a lengthy speech explained the importance and need of education of the depressed classes as the only sure means of improving their social position. He was followed by Sj. Chandi Charan Mistry, a *Namasudra* representative, who exhorted his fellow brethren to exert themselves in the work of education. A Committee was formed comprising some of the leading local gentlemen and the representatives of the *Namasudras* in the neighbouring villages to take up the cause of the education of the latter community in the district of Backergunge. The success of the meeting was due to the efforts of Sj. Anathbandhu Sen, editor of the local vernacular paper, the *Namasudra*, the very existence of such a paper showing what keen an interest is taken by the *Namasudras* themselves in the question of their social promotion by means of education.

II

In addition to these humble beginnings, we have to notice the work that is being unobtrusively done by certain national schools that have been imparting education both to the masses and the depressed classes in some of the districts of united Bengal. There are at present no less than sixty Primary National Schools in the whole of United Bengal, a good many of which, specially those in the districts of Backergunge, Faridpur and Jessore would appear, by the way, to have been started for imparting education specially to the depressed class, the *Namasudras*, and the backward classes among the Mahomedans. These schools are 'national' in the sense that they have been following the Scheme of Studies prescribed by the National Council of Education, Bengal, for Primary Schools. Some of them also received pecuniary help during the year before last, (1908), from the National Council in the shape of grants-in aid. But they are the work of individual persons and of independent organisations that have initiated them, maintain them and control them ; and, as such, they are to be recognised as not coming directly within the purview of work undertaken and done by the National Council of Education. Though this is so, it has to be remembered that the attitude of the National Council towards this movement for education of the

masses and the depressed classes has not been unsympathetic, as would appear from the fact that the President of the Council, Dr. Rashbehary Ghose, M. A., D.L., C.I.E., C.S.I., on the occasion of the Prize-Day Meeting of the Bengal National College and School, April 9, 1908, made a public appeal for funds for, among other objects, the education of the Namasudra or the depressed classes as also for the education of the poorer section of the Mahomedan community of Bengal. Here are his words : "We want money for the development of the Mechanical Engineering Department. We want money for the opening of a Department for Applied Chemistry, for the development of the existing Biological Department, for opening a department for Agriculture, for the better equipment of Mofussil Secondary Schools. **We want money still for national primary education of the Namasudra class and for the poorer classes of our Mahomedan countrymen and fellow-subjects.**" These weighty words of the President of the National Council of Education will not fail, we believe, to make clear the attitude which the Council bears towards the movement. So far as we can judge, the actual present position of the National Council in this respect is this : That the Council have got only a limited number of workers in the field and so limited funds at their disposal. To build up and to show to the public the results of the working of an independent *system* of National Education, they have had hitherto to spend almost the whole of their money and energies on Secondary and Higher Education of the people and have perhaps little to spare for Primary Education, which involves an unlimited expenditure and also an expensive organisation. It is to be noted, however, that during the year before ast, (1908), the Council spent the sum of Rs. 1,000 on some of the Primary National Schools in the districts of Backergunge, Tippera, Faridpur, etc. The year 1909, however, was an extremely bad year for the Council, for on account of want of funds its expansion was arrested and it could make no grant on these Primary National Schools during that year.

III

We now proceed to give a short account of the Primary National Schools in the district of Backergunge, from which our readers may have an idea of the extent to which these schools are serving the cause of education both of the masses and of the depressed classes of Bengal. There are Primary National Schools in other districts which had also received grants-in-aid from the Council. The most salient features to be noticed about these schools are the following :—(1) In many schools Namasudra students form the majority. (2) In some of the schools the Namasudra and the Mahomedan students constitute the majority. (3) In cases of schools where the Musulman, the Namasudra and the Hindu higher caste students are more or less equally distributed, no caste distinctions are allowed to prevail in them. Lastly, (4) the schools teaching according to the Scheme of Studies of the National Council of Education, Bengal, provide, most of them, for technical and industrial training in combination with literary. And (5) regard being paid to the local village

industries, subjects like weaving, clay-moulding, cutlery and manufacture of palm-leaf fans, etc. are now being taught to these students.

WORKING OF PRIMARY NATIONAL SCHOOLS IN BACKERGUNGE DURING 1908

INTRODUCTORY

In August, 1907, the students and teachers of the Bengal National College and School started a "Small Collections Fund" called the Jateeya Siksha Bhandar in aid of the National Council of Education. The money collected was to be appropriated in promoting, among other things, the cause of Primary National Education in Bengal. This news having spread throughout Bengal, more than two hundred applications from so many schools for grants-in-aid reached the office of the Secretaries to the National Council. The question of helping in the maintenance of Primary National Schools was then pushed forward before the Executive Committee of the Council, who at last appointed a sub-committee to consider it. The *pros* and *cons* of the question were gone into and the Executive Committee finally decided that a sum of rupees one thousand should be spent for the purpose for the year 1908. There were received about 100 applications from the District of Backergunge, of which only ten were granted and the total sum of Rs. 500 allotted for the year. The remaining Rs. 500 was distributed among other Primary National Schools in other districts. The following is a short account of the more important of Primary National Schools in the District of Backergunge some of whom were in receipt of a grant-in-aid in 1908.

B. K. B. INSTITUTION

Introductory :—This school was started at Krishnakati by the combined efforts of the people of the three villages, Badalkati, Krishnakati and Bikana, in the Thana of Jhalakati, on the first day of the year 1905. The school at first taught up to the Upper Primary Standard of the Calcutta University and was in a short time granted the monthly sum of rupees five from the District Board. In the year 1906, the authorities of the Education Department, however, with a view to strengthen the Circle School in the neighbouring village of Agarbari, proposed the abolition of the school at Krishnakati. The conductors of the school did not relish such a proposal with the result that the District Board stopped their monthly grant of rupees five. The local public, however, re-organised the school and raised it to a Middle Vernacular school with five teachers on the staff. New houses were built in a place midway between the three villages mentioned above, and the school was finally removed there. It is also worth mentioning that the people of the three villages, young and old, have with much enthusiasm built a kutchra road about three miles long for the convenience of students attending the school from the villages.

Students and their Training.—There were 107 students on the rolls when the school was recognised by the Council. Of these, 29 were Brahmins, 41

Kayasthas, 18 Namasudras and 19 Mahomedans. Since 1908 the school has been teaching up to the Secondary first year course of the National Council of Education (corresponding to the Middle English Course of the Calcutta University) and was in receipt of a grant for the year 1908. Like almost every other National School, this school has also made provision for imparting technical training to the students in combination with literary. The following are the subjects at present taught to the students:—Spinning and Weaving, (by means of *Churkas* and handlooms), book-binding, and the manufacture of palm-leaf fans, toys of clay, ink-pots, utensils, walking-sticks and seals. A carpentry class is also expected to be soon started in the school.

An Exhibition of articles manufactured by the students of the school was held in May 1909, lasting for a whole week. The work of the school was highly appreciated by the gentlemen of the neighbouring villages.

Financial Position :—The income of the school chiefly consists of the school-fees of students, monthly subscriptions and Mushti Bhiksha (house-to-house rice collection). The authorities of the school also expect to increase the funds at their disposal by the sale-proceeds of season-vegetables of the locality collected by way of alms from the house-holders. The Council's grant for the year 1908 was Rs. 150 only.

AMRAJURI SCHOOL

A Middle English School was being maintained by the Government at Amrajuri (Thana Kaukhali) in a house lent by a local gentleman for about 20 years. The Government removed the school in 1907 to one end of the village, where it would be difficult for young boys of the locality to go to attend school. The people of the village, however, established a Middle English School at the house where the Government School had been situated and which is in the centre of the neighbouring villages. The School at present teaches according to the syllabus of the National Council.

There were 53 students on the rolls, of whom 10 were Namasudras ("depressed class" Hindus) and 2 Mahomedans. The teaching staff consists of four experienced teachers. Clay-moulding and card-board work are the two industries at present taught to the students.

The school has no buildings of its own, no library. Average monthly income amounted to rupees twenty-six, of which Rs. 9 came from school-fees, Rs. 12 from subscriptions and Rs. 5 from Musti Bhiksha and other sources. The school received Rs. 150 from the National Council as grant-in-aid for 1908.

BANSBUNIA SCHOOL

A primary school was started at Bansbunia near Bhandaria in the year 1906, but has been teaching in accordance with the Scheme of Studies of the National Council since October, 1907 and was in receipt of a grant by the Council of Rs. 45 for 1908. There were at the end of the year 1908, 45 students on the rolls, 23 of whom were Namasudras. There are two teachers in the School. The school has as yet made no provision for technical education, but

the following industries are taught to the students, namely, the manufacture of palm-leaf fans, flowers etc. from paper, and clay idols. The school is provided with spacious accommodation and with necessary furniture. Monthly income consists of school-fees and subscriptions. Average monthly expenditure for 1908 amounted to rupees thirteen only. (*To be continued*)

SECTION II : STUDENTS' COLUMN

THE SECOND AND THIRD CITIES OF THE EMPIRE : COMPARATIVE CLAIMS OF BOMBAY AND CALCUTTA—II

(*Concluded from pp. 8-11 of Part III, Sec. II of the January, 1910 issue of this journal*)

VI. (A) Buildings Public and Private : Some Striking Contrasts

The Victoria Terminus Ry. Station of Bombay is one of the best and the finest stations in the world. Its majesty lies in its imposing structure and decorative architecture. Even the new Howrah Station has no claim to this majesty of architecture though it may occupy a greater amount of space than the Victoria Station. As regards provisions for the general comfort of intending passengers, there is not much difference between the new Howrah Station and the Victoria Terminus of Bombay. The Municipal Corporation Building of Bombay, with its imposing Tower, looks grander than that of the long inartistic Corporation Building of Calcutta. There is no grand Hotel in Calcutta to compare with the Taj Mahal Palace Hotel of Bombay. The Crawford-Market of Bombay, again, only equals in size two or three wings of the Calcutta Municipal Market. The Governor's Bungalow at Bombay is less imposing than the Lieutenant Governor's residence—the Belvedere at Alipur, not to speak of the mighty Government House at Calcutta. The High Court, the General Post Office, the Bengal Secretariat Buildings, and the Town Hall in Calcutta are also grander than their Bombay prototypes. The Rajbari Clock Tower is beautiful, indeed ; but the Ochterlony monument in Calcutta is no less imposing.

(B) Private Buildings : Calcutta's Strength and Weakness -

There are a good many private buildings in Bombay; of these the Petits' Palace at Mahaluxmi looks very beautiful and enchanting in the evening in the glow of electric lamps. Nature, Art and Riches have combined to turn the Malabar Hill and the Cumballa Hill at Bombay into an earthly Paradise. Calcutta has got a good many gigantic private structures, which are really palatial buildings, such, for example, as those which are the property of late Raja Rajendra Lal Mallik, the late Maharaja Joteendra Mohan Tagore, the late Cally Kissen Tagore, Maharaj Kumar Rishi-Case Law, Rai Bahadur Buddreedas, the great Jain Jeweller, the Mullicks of Chitpore. Bombay has but very few such private palaces ; but in Calcutta they are situated in most unpoetic places and they do not, therefore, attract so strongly the attention of the new-comer like the most striking of the Bombay buildings described above. If both the banks of

the Hooghli instead of being lined with dirty godowns were adorned by these mighty structures (belonging to our Rajas and Maharajas in Calcutta) which, as a matter of fact, are situated sometimes by the side of abominable hovels, sometimes also in dark lanes, they would have looked like so many pictures of beauty fit for the poet's pen or the painter's brush and would have drawn tourists from throughout the world, as Venice does up to this day. The quarter where the Fort of Bombay is situated looks very much like the places round the Dalhousie square of Calcutta; but is far surpassed in beauty and grandeur by the Chowringhee quarter of Calcutta.

(C) **The Bombay Chawl : Not to be copied by Calcutta**

In Calcutta there are three classes of buildings, (a) the massive buildings owned by rich men and merchants, (b) smaller buildings of middle class people used for residential purposes; and (3) the *Kucha* huts used by the poor. On account of the prevalence of the *Purdah* system in Bengal, the poorer inhabitants of Calcutta prefer to live apart from other families in separate dwellings, although the structures in which they live are no better than hovels of bamboo and earth. For the same reason, also, the middle class people of Calcutta prefer living in separate houses, however humble and small, to putting up on a big composite building in which different families occupy different rooms separated from each other only by partitions. For the reason given above, there are such a large number of small residential houses in Calcutta. The case is quite different, however, in Bombay, where, there have been built by capitalists large houses called *chawls*, and in a single *chawl* sometimes a hundred or two hundred people or even more would live together. The *chawls* generally consist of long rows of rooms of equal dimension and of the same description. Each room is separately let out by the man in charge of the house according to a fixed rate—the rate fixed by the proprietor. In a *chawl* we have the most unedifying spectacle of men and women of quite different families, often of different nationalities, and possessing the most varied temperament using the same taps, the same bathing places, the same latrines, compounds, passages and gates, etc.,—a state of things which no Bengali family can, as a matter of principle, tolerate for a moment. One who has experience of this sort of *chawl-life* cannot have the least respect for a civilisation which can give birth to such pandemoniums. The Calcutta Improvement Trust, which has been recently created by Government for the improvement of the City of Calcutta, will soon do away with many small buildings where families of the middle classes live. In place of that the Trust, as it is going to copy its Bombay predecessor, will no doubt, introduce the *chawl* system in Calcutta. If that be so, our Bengali Society will be threatened with a new and dire evil, which, morally speaking, will soon undo all the good things that might be expected from the said Trust. Before the threatened introduction of this *chawl* system in Calcutta takes place, some of the leaders of Bengali society should come to Bombay and live in *chawls* for some days and know by practical experience what a *chawl-life* is like. They will then discover how far it is good for one to live with one's family in apartments in such a house as a *chawl*, where all sorts of people live and congregate—

good men with bad men, unmarried man of pure character with debauchees, drunkards, very often with thieves and loafers, for these abound in every collection of human beings in this civilised 20th century.

VII. Municipal arrangement and Public Thoroughfares

In Bombay some of the old narrow lanes (which, by the way, are as plentiful as blackberries in Calcutta) have given place to broad, straight roads, thanks to the Bombay Improvement Trust; but otherwise I do not see any great difference between the character of the Calcutta and Bombay Municipalities. Thus, the principal thoroughfares of Calcutta in the European quarters are kept scrupulously clean. Similarly also, although there is no such clean, wide road in Bombay as the Chowringhee or the Red Road of Calcutta, the Hornby Road and some of the principal thoroughfares of Bombay are kept very clean, indeed. But excepting these main thoroughfares the native Indian parts of the town in both the cities are as ugly as possible; or rather Bombay in respect of such ugliness can give points to Calcutta. In the dry season, the season, the dust in Bombay is a great nuisance in the Indian parts of the town, rainy season the less said about the mud and the slush the better.

VIII. Conveyances

Calcutta is very poor in her means of conveyance as compared with Bombay. In Calcutta people have to depend only upon the service of horse-drawn hackney carriages and of electric tramcars, there being no Railway service for passengers within the city itself. Of course, ferry-steamers on the Hooghly should have to be taken into account also, but they are quite recent things. Bombay, however, has the great advantage of having Railway train service, at intervals of every 10 or 12 minutes, with stoppage stations at almost all important places within the limits of the city. Over and above these, there are the electric tramcars and the Victoria hacks, which are horse-drawn carriages differing from the Calcutta hacks in this that while in the latter city there are three classes of them—the 1st, the 2nd and the 3rd classes, in Bombay there is only one such class. Further the carriages in Bombay are all rubber-tyred, private or public. In this matter, as also in respect of her Motor cars, Bombay is far ahead of Calcutta. The first class carriages, however, of Calcutta are all rubber-tyred being generally drawn by pairs of biggish horses; they are much superior to the Bombay hacks and do credit to the great city to which they belong. It is necessary to mention here that all the hacks as well as almost all the private carriages in Bombay are “compass” carriages, as they are popularly called in Calcutta, that is, carriages drawn by single horses. But as regards stately private equipages, Calcutta is far superior to Bombay. A pair of gorgeous Walers drawing a single car is a common enough sight in the metropolis of India, but it is rare in Bombay. But the standing disgrace to an advanced city like Bombay are the bullock carts *for conveyance of human beings*, while the rickety third class hackneys drawn by country horses of very poor physique are a disgrace to the Capital of India.

IX. Public Places of Recreation

There is nothing in Calcutta to compare with an evening walk on the *Chowpathi* or the Apollo Bunder at Bombay. But Bombay has no Public Gardens worth the name except the Victoria Gardens, which, however, performs a fourfold function, *e. g.*, (1) as a Zoological Garden, (2) as a Museum, (3) as a Botanical Garden and (4) as an Eden Garden. But

the total extent of the Victoria Gardens at Bombay would not, I presume, exceed the total area of the last named garden, namely, the Eden Gardens of Calcutta. Another place of public resort in Bombay is the Museum. But it is far inferior in size to the Museum at Calcutta, two halls of the latter being sufficient to accommodate the whole of the Bombay Museum. Again, the merits of the Zoological Gardens and the Botanical Gardens of the two cities are far apart, the advantage being in favour of those in Calcutta. Thus the Calcutta Gardens would strike the Bombay beholder with wonder and admiration. Similarly also, the Maidan in Calcutta which is adorned with so many statues cannot compare with the maidan at Bombay. Besides these, there are a large number of public squares in Calcutta ; in which respect Bombay is at a great disadvantage.

Calcutta has got fine play-houses conducted by Europeans ; and also others conducted by Indians. With regard to the former, Bombay is very poor, but she has got some good Indian theatres. Though some of these Indian theatres are sufficiently well-equipped in the matter of dresses for the actors and of scene-paintings, they are not so up-to-date in respect of their subjects of play, and also of music, like their Calcutta compeers. Thus there is no regular concert-music in the Bombay theatres ; but instead the musical performances are done with the help of old-fashioned harmoniums, fiddles, and the Indian Tablas. Whereas in Calcutta the Indian theatre-managers have not only successfully copied the Europeans, but have also added something of their own, in making up a charming Indian concert, such as the Indian theatre managers of Bombay can hardly imagine. Again, in Calcutta almost every week some play or other from the pen of reputed dramatists, bearing on some current topics or some burning question is staged in the Bengali theatres ; whereas in Bombay the same old play of Harishchandra of the Indian classics is repeated over and over again for weeks and even for months together on the lifeless stages of Bombay ; thanks to Harishchandra for providing the Bombay people with a subject for play. A similar contrast is observable in respect of another matter. Properly speaking, except a sort of mock movement of the body, there is really no scientific dancing in a Bombay theatre like what we find on the Indian stage in Calcutta, where sometimes the art is carried to perfection.

X. Restaurants, Hotels and Grog-shops

Chawl life, to which reference has already been made, is productive of one serious evil, namely, the undue partiality on the part of those people accustomed to such *chawl* life for Restaurants and Hotels. In this particular matter Bombay has beaten hollow even advanced Calcutta. We accordingly notice an innumerable number of restaurants and grogshops all well-furnished, well-kept and well-provided, flourishing in the very bosom of orthodox society. Generally, tea and biscuits are the chief items of refreshment in these restaurants. One cannot obtain so many kinds of delicious sweets here in Bombay as in Calcutta. Besides restaurants, there are a number of hotels, European as well as Indian, in the city of Bombay.

XI. Clubs

The Royal Yacht Club and the Byculla Club of the Bombay city, which are European Clubs, are the counterparts of the United Service Club and the Bengal Club in Calcutta. But neither of the first two can compare with the

imposing structure of the newly constructed Bengal Club in Calcutta. As regards Indian Clubs, there are very few clubs in Bombay to compare with such Indian clubs in Calcutta as the India Club, the Town Club, and the Bharat Sangit Samaj.

XII. Games and Sports

Bombay is famous for its cricketers, and there are undoubtedly some of the best cricketers in the world among the Europeans, the Parsis and the Hindus of that city. But the manly game of football in Bombay counts among its votaries a very low percentage of the population ; while in Calcutta some of the best football players of India are to be found among the Bengalis and the Europeans of that city. With regard to tennis, however, we find that it is a common enough game in both cities ; while there are first class golfers among Europeans of the Bombay city. Among indoor games, billiards is a greater favourite in Bombay with the Indian community than in Calcutta, which last city is specially noted for its Bengali chess players.

XIII. Political and Social Activities

Public matters do not ordinarily excite the interest of the average Bombayite who is usually busy with his own affairs. Excepting in the case of a limited number of people, there is a general apathy among the citizens who are happy so long as they can earn their money merrily. But go to the Beadon Square or to the College Square in Calcutta, of any evening, and you will notice knots of people here and there discussing topics of general interest. On the other hand if you go on an evening to the *Chowpati* or any other place of resort in Bombay, you won't ordinarily notice anything else than talks on private matters and talks about your dress and appearance and such like trivial things. Even when we consider the case of enlightened people like the members of the Bar, Calcutta and Bombay offer points of contrast. A visitor to the Bar Library of the High Court of Calcutta, intent on marking the character of the conversation that may be heard there, will be impressed by the high tone of public spirit, that marks the discussions,—a thing which is deplorably at a discount in the conversation to be heard within the walls of the Libraries in the Bombay High Court. Among active public bodies the Presidency Association of Bombay occupies the first place in the Bombay city and may be compared to the Indian Association of Calcutta. With regard to non-political organisations, Bombay cannot boast of organisations like the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishad* (Academy of Bengali Literature) or the *Sangit Samaj* of Calcutta.

XIV. Conclusion

I have finished my hasty survey of the two cities, Bombay and Calcutta. The former has earned the high title of the Beautiful, ' Bombay the Beautiful,' as she is called ; while Calcutta has no less a claim to our regard, for she is admittedly the ' City of Palaces ' and is called by that name by everybody. The claims of the two cities are thus not unevenly balanced ; but still the question remains unanswered,—Which is the Second and which is the Third city of the Empire ? Is Bombay to be given the higher place in our estimate, or Calcutta ? I pause for an answer.

BOMBAY

July 29, 1909 }

P. C. DUTT

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Some of our subscribers write to us that they do not get the paper regularly. We hereby beg to inform our subscribers that the *Dawn Magazine* for March 1910 was posted on the 1st March, 1910 at the Calcutta-G. P. O. at 8.30 P. M. to all our subscribers. Similarly, during the whole of the last year and also this year the paper was punctually published every month. We do not know why we still hear a number of complaints regarding the non-receipt of the Magazine at the proper time and in some cases that they were actually lost. Surely they were either misdelivered by postmen or lost otherwise. No effort is spared on our part to publish the paper *punctually* at the proper time and to carefully examine every number before despatch. **If a subscriber does not receive the paper punctually, he may wait till the 10th of the month and then he should not hesitate to complain to the local Post Office and intimate the fact to us giving the date of complaint and the postal officer to whom complaint has been sent and quoting his Roll No., so that we may also complain at the Head Office here.** Complaints regarding the non receipt of any month's issue should reach our Office on or before the 20th of that month, after which date duplicate copies can be supplied only at Rs. 4 per copy. If on account of any unavoidable reasons, it be not possible for us to bring out one particular issue of the paper at the proper time we would certainly notify the same in that issue or the next.

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पत्र-संख्याय समधिक वर्धित इद्वे।

२। खातनामा एवं उद्दीषमान लेखक
लेखिकागणेर लेखा शक्तिवै।

३। प्रतिभासे ह्योत गत्य शक्तिवै। एतद्-
व्यतीत कविता, गान, उपन्यास, स्वरूपि, अष्ट-
वाद, प्रवक्तृत्व, वैज्ञानिक सन्दर्भ, शिल्पविषयक
प्रबन्ध नियमितभावे प्रकाशित इद्वे एवं आमे-
रिका-प्रवासी ह्यवगण लेखनकार विवरण
लेखिया पाठाद्वेन।

४। भारतीर 'चयन' ए वत्सर नाना
रकमेर चित्ताकर्षक संग्रहे पूणे शक्तिवै।

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शामिनौप्रकाश गङ्गोपाध्याय, श्रियुक्त नन्दलाल
बस, श्रियुक्त अमितकुमार ह्यलदार प्रभृति
विख्यात शिल्पीगण अङ्कित वत्सर्षे ओ एक
एक वर्षे मुद्रित चित्र एवं समयोपयोगी ओ
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OLD SERIES
VOL. XIII, No. 4

APRIL 1910

NEW SERIES
VOL. VI, No. 4

PART I : INDIANA

LITERARY WEALTH OF INDIA : VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION FROM A VIZAGAPATAM CORRESPONDENT

Elsewhere in this number we publish an article from the pen of a well-read scholar, S. Ranganathaswami, Secretary to the Arsha Library, Vizagapatam, and Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, who sends us, in connection with our recent articles on *India's Literary Wealth** where we gave some account of the Jaina mss. libraries existing in different parts of India, an interesting account of part of his work relating to his search for Jaina Prakrit mss. It is to Jainism, as to Buddhism and other popular religious movements, that we are indebted for the development of some of the vernacular languages of India and their exaltation to the status of so many literary languages, fit vehicles for the expression of higher thought and culture. What Buddhism did for Pali, the vernacular dialect of Magadha, and the Mediaeval *Bhakti* movements of the 16th century for the modern provincial vernaculars of India, that did Jainism for no less than four Indian vernaculars viz. Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, and last, though not the least, an old Prakrita dialect known as Jaina Prakrit in order to distinguish it from other Prakrita dialects. Most of the sacred works of the Jains, especially the earlier ones are written not in Sanskrit but in the popular Prakrit; for the founder of Jainism, Mahavira, --the Jina, or the conqueror, like Buddha, used the language of the people when teaching. Sanskrit began to be used much later, and, about the 9th and 10th centuries A. D. when there was a great revival of Jainism in Western India, the Jaina monks not only embodied their religious teachings in Sanskrit works, but also won distinction in the varied fields of secular scholarship which had hitherto been the special possession of the Buddhist and Brahman scholars. And "they have accomplished so much of importance," says Dr. Buhler, the renowned German scholar, "in grammar, in astronomy, as well as in some branches of

* Vide *April, May and June, 1909* numbers i. e. pp. 63-71 ; 77-83 ; 93-100 of Vol. V of this Magazine.

letters, that they have won respect even from their enemies, and some of their works are still of importance to European Science.”*

It was during the four centuries immediately preceding the Mussalman conquest of Hindusthan, which covered the rule of the Chalukya and Rashtrakuta princes in the Southern Maratha country and of the Chalukyas in Gujarat, that Jainism along with Hinduism began to supplant Buddhism as the dominant faith in Western India. It numbered, as it still does, the majority of its adherents among the great merchants and bankers of the cities, who endowed monasteries, built temples, dug tanks and established charities on a most munificent scale. Some of the most important kings of the dynasties mentioned above, were themselves devout followers of the Jina. The names of the Rashtrakuta prince, Amoghavarsa I, the great patron of Digambara Jainism in Southern Maharashtra, and of the Chalukya king Kumarpala of Gujarat, disciple of the celebrated Jaina *Acharya* Hemachandra, are two of the best known examples. Under the auspices of these royal patrons and in the *Upasrayas* or monasteries that sprung up in the great cities, numerous works on doctrine, ritual, grammar, logic, rhetoric, astronomy and other branches of learning, were composed in Prakrit and Sanskrit by successive generations of Jaina monks, and have been copied and preserved in the ms. libraries attached to these *upasrayas*.

It is in a search for these Prakrit works written by the Jaina monks, that the writer of the article referred to above has been engaged for some years past. An important branch of the Jaina scholarship is Grammar, and especially the grammar of the Prakrit dialect. In his search for a grammatical work entitled *Subdachintamanivritti* (*शब्दचिन्तामणिवृत्ति*) by one Subhachandra, quotations from which are found in other extant grammars, the writer referred to that monumental work of reference by one of the profoundest of German scholars, Dr. Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* which is a compendium of all the catalogues of Sanskrit and Prakrit ms. collections in the world, and also to Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, both of whom identify the work with a ms. work in the Bengal Asiatic Society's collection entitled *Andaryachintamoni* (*आन्दार्यचिन्तामणि*) by an author whose name is given by Dr. Rajendra Lala as Subhasagara. On actual examination of the ms., however, our contributor found it to be a different work altogether, the name of the author being Srutasagara, and not Subhasagara as given by Dr. Mitra. He has been able to fix the identity of this Srutasagara, as the author of several other well-known works and the disciple of a famous Digambara Acharya, Vidyanandin. The writer has thus not only corrected a mistake in that monumental book of reference, the *Catalogus* of Dr. Aufrecht, but in doing so, has added materially to our knowledge about the grammatical literature of the Jainas by bringing to light a hitherto unknown grammatical work, which proves to be much fuller than the extant ones of

Hemachandra, Trivikrama and others, and by completing our knowledge about a versatile Jaina author, viz., Srutasagara. With this introductory note we invite our readers to a perusal of the valuable contribution sent by our distinguished correspondent, S_j. Ranganathaswami of Vizagapatam.

RABINDRA NARAYAN GHOSH, M.A.

SWADESHI IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY : FURTHER ACCOUNTS OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS—PART III

*(Continued from pp. 204-209, of Part I of December, 1909, Vol. V.
of this journal)*

I. Some Remarkable Figures Showing the Growth of Swadeshi in the Madras Presidency

The future welfare of India is intimately bound up with the growth of the industrial Swadeshi in every part of this country. The question, it appears to us, is one of life and death to our people. It is gratifying to note that there has been an appreciable progress in this direction in almost every province of India. But from one point of view, the point of view which we are immediately going to make out,—to the Southern Presidency alone belongs the distinction, the unique distinction of leading in the van of the onward march. In no other part of India was the falling-off last year in the imports from Lancashire of textile fabrics and yarns, so large and so serious as in Madras. On the occasion of the last Deepawali sales (November, 1909) in Madras (corresponding to the Lucky-Day sales in Calcutta) both the Indian and Anglo-Indian journals of the Southern Presidency pointed out that the shrinkage was extraordinary. "Contrary to expectations," declared one Anglo-Indian journal, "the Deepawali demand has been disappointing this year (1909) in nearly all classes of piece-goods." This, however, does not represent the whole truth; for the import trade of the Southern Presidency in piece-goods suffered an enormous decrease, both in value and in quantity throughout the year 1909, and not merely on the occasion of the Deepawali, as the following figures will amply show. For the nine months, January–September, 1908, the value of the imports of British cotton-goods of all kinds into the Madras Presidency, amounted to £ 2,046,176; while for the same corresponding period in 1909 (*i. e.*, January–September, 1909) the value of the same imports came down to £ 894,139, which represents a shrinkage of nearly 56 per cent in value. If we look at the question from the point of view of quantity of textile fabrics imported during the first nine months (Jan.-Sept.) of the above two years, we notice a falling off of 42 per cent. This depression in Madras was not confined to one particular

kind of textile fabrics as was the case in the Bombay Presidency, but extended to all kinds of piece-goods (grey, bleached, printed and dyed), as the following figures representing the values of the imports in round numbers for the same two years will show :—*Grey*—from £ 1,161,000 (in 1908) to £ 493,000 (in 1909) ; *Bleached*—from £ 352,000 to £ 149,000 ; *Printed*—from £ 390,000 to £ 197,000 ; and *Dyed*—from £ 144,000 to £ 56,000. Further, we have to note that the depression in Madras affected not merely the imports of British *piece-goods* but also import of British *yarns* ; for we find that during the nine months, January to September 1909, the value of the imports of Lancashire *yarn* into Madras came down to less than a half of the value of the imports during the corresponding period of the previous year, the exact figures being £ 651,395 for 1908, and £ 273,247 for 1909 ; which represents a shrinkage of about 57 per cent. It will be seen from the foregoing figures that long before the Deepawali sales came on, Lancashire had been experiencing the hardship caused by the depressed condition of the piece-goods and yarn import-trade of the Southern Presidency ; and in no other part of India was the depression so large and so serious ; for we have to note that in 1909 Bombay imported far larger quantities of Lancashire yarn than she did in the year previous.

There is just one more point to be specially noted in connection with the above, which shows a gratifying growth of Swadeshi in one notable direction. It will be seen that the decrease in *quantity* of imported British piece-goods, although sufficiently striking, being so high as 42 per cent, was still less than the reduction in the *value* of those imports, the reduction in the value amounting to 56 per cent, as above indicated. This clearly points to the fact that the imports from Lancashire into the Southern Presidency, consisted more largely in 1909 of the coarser fabrics than they did in the year previous ; in other words, foreign manufacturers are no longer exporting into the Presidency their *finer* goods to the extent as they did before, and they are now sending out stuff which being coarser would at first sight be indistinguishable from Swadeshi piece-goods.

II. Bengali Enterprise in Madras : Two Button and Comb Factories

It would arouse the curiosity of many to learn that the wave of Bengali enterprise in the pursuit of industrial Swadeshi has extended beyond the limits of United Bengal and touched the shores of distant Madras. It is a remarkable circumstance that in the very early days of the Swadeshi movement, in the month of May, 1906, a Bengali, by name Rajnarain Bose, of the rural town of Halishahr in the district of

24-Pergunnas in Bengal went to Madras and established there a small Button Factory; and in November following, a Comb Factory on a similar scale was established. The combined factories known as the *Button and Comb Factory* of Messrs. Bose & Sons at present occupies premises No. 145, Tiruvattur High Road, Tondiapeth, Madras. At present sixty hands in all are engaged in the Factory. Buttons, combs, etc. are manufactured from bones and horns, partly with the help of machines and partly by hand. It is a noteworthy circumstance and speaks a good deal for the manufacturing ability of Messrs. Bose that their machines for the cutting of the teeth of combs are their own invention and are manufactured at the Factory itself. We have been presented with a number of samples of manufactured articles and we have nothing but praise for them. The presents consist of two sets of shirt-buttons, two sets of sleeve-links of different designs, one long comb, two tooth-combs of different sorts, one tail comb, one snuff box and one vermilion *Kouta* (receptacle) and they all appear to us to be first-class articles. Not only may they well be compared with imported foreign articles of a similar description, but some of them appeared even to be superior to the latter. We are particularly struck by the high polish of one of the two sets of buttons and one of the tooth-combs, which might, in our opinion, be freely placed in our markets without much fear of competition. The vermilion *Kouta* is inlaid with metal threads and is of decent design. We are glad that the high quality of the articles is not the only recommendation, but they are cheap as well. The demand for them is growing and Messrs. Bose will have to extend their present arrangements to meet the growing demand. We note also that not only Indian but also Anglo-Indian opinion in Madras have recognised the worth of these Swadeshi articles. The *Madras Mail*, the leading Anglo-Indian paper of Madras, speaks highly of Messrs. Bose's buttons, and that well-known journal, the *Indian Patriot* of Madras, published in English, and that highly popular and respected vernacular paper the *Swadesh-Mitran* of the same Presidency are equally enthusiastic. We congratulate Mr. Bose, who is a retired Railway official, on his having chalked out a highly useful career for himself, which is also so fruitful of good to his country.

Our readers will be glad to know that besides Messrs. Bose's firm, Madras boasts of another Bengali button-manufacturing firm, which goes by the name of Messrs. Ghose Mazumdar & Co., whose Factory was established in 1905 or some time previous to the establishment of Messrs. Bose's firm, and which, we understand, is conducted along similar lines. We are not at present in possession of all the facts

connected with this factory, but we are informed that about 50 hands are now being engaged in it and the articles manufactured are of good quality. Let us hope that the success of the above two Swadeshi firms of button-manufacturers will be of such a kind as to be equal to the growing popular demand in the Southern Presidency for high-class combs and buttons, etc.

III. Striking Development of Swadeshi in Madras: Or the Madras Glass Works, Ltd.

In Part I of this article (p. 194, November, 1909, Vol. V of this magazine) we barely referred to the fact that a Syndicate had been formed in the city of Madras with a capital of over two lakhs of rupees to start a Glass Factory under very competent management and that the Factory was under construction. It is now our pleasant duty to inform the public that the Madras Glass Works, Ltd. is now an accomplished fact, and that the work of manufacture is rapidly progressing. The enthusiasm in favour of the project has been so great that at an extraordinary General Meeting of the Company held on February 25th, 1910, it was resolved to raise the authorised capital from two to four lakhs and to issue out of this additional two lakhs only one lakh worth of shares, reserving the remaining lakh for a further issue. The Board of Directors are composed of four gentlemen, by name Haji Ismail Sait, Mr. Leishman, V. Masillamony Pillai, M.A., B.L., and Mr. J. R. Unger; while Messers. Ramsay & Co. of Madras are on the Agency of the Company. The Company has already begun operations. The official Director of Industries in the Madras Presidency recognises the special importance of this Swadeshi undertaking and it is on his recommendation that the Government has sanctioned the free grant to the Company of half the fuel to be used in the furnaces of the Madras Glass Works during the first two years of its working, the maximum grant for the whole period of two years coming up to 7,200 tons.* It was pointed out to the Government that the commercial success of the industry depended entirely on the possibility of training indigenous labour to work it, and it was therefore that the industry could not be considered to have passed the experimental stage until a locally trained staff had been created. It was also pointed out that in order to train up such labour the Company had imported a European expert and European glass-makers and that the heavy expenditure consequent on the maintenance of a highly paid staff constituted a

* The firewood will be supplied from the Seshachellam extension, a Reserved Forest (Block B), near Kodur in the Cuddapah district, and should be felled and transported by or at the expense of the Company subject to such supervision as the Forest Department may consider necessary.

heavy drain on its resources and tended to diminish considerably the commercial success. The Factory building of the Company, which was constructed under the Superintendence of a German expert, Mr. Meier, whose services have been secured by the Company, is situated on the Marina to the South-West of the old Ice House in Madras. The Factory is fitted up with up-to-date machinery required for the manufacture of glass tiles and soda-water bottles. While, we understand, new machines for the manufacture of pressed glass-wares, such as rice-bowls etc., are to be ordered out from Europe immediately. The Company proposes to manufacture also prismatic sky-light plates, India rubber tapping cups, telegraphic and medical stores, chimneys, tumblers and other staple articles. The raw materials required for the manufacture of glass are all indigenous except in the case of soda which is at present being indented from Europe. The sand, which is procured from the neighbourhood of Eravanur is, of the first quality containing 99 per cent. of silicate. Sea-shells which are a special natural wealth of the Presidency are substituted for chalk, which is also one of the ingredients for glass-making.

We have to note in this connection that a number of young Indians of different classes and creeds have been learning the manufacture of glass under the guidance of the German Blower, Mr. Fredricks whose services have been engaged by the Company. Among them is a graduate, Mr. Venugopala Chariar, B. A., and several matriculates, working side by side with ordinary coolies. Mr. Venugopala Chariar is an active worker and superintends the whole business in connection with the tile-manufacturing department of the Factory. It is gratifying to note that all the young Indian apprentices have made appreciable progress in course of this short period. And it is believed that, while in Europe a glass-maker before he becomes efficient has to learn fully three years, in the Glass-Works here with a better class of people it should not be difficult to train them in a much shorter time.

Process of Glass-Manufacture

Glass articles are now made by the following process in the Factory. Sand is first washed and dried on a platform and then sifted. It then looks perfectly white and as, we are informed, equal to if not better than the best sand procurable in Europe. Shells also are washed and dried in like manner. They are then put into a Ball Mill, which grinds them in a very short time and requires very little attendance. There is also an arrangement in the Ball Mill room to crush the soda into very fine powder. Then follows the mixing process. The sifted sand and powdered soda and shells

are then taken in due proportions and put into the mixing machine, which mixes them mechanically together. Every night some necessary quantity of this mixture is taken and put into the furnace, which is reported to be very ingeniously constructed. The melting is done during the night, while at five in the morning the workmen go to work. It is proposed, however, to melt during the day and and to work at night during the summer. All goods are manufactured from the liquid substance in the furnace. They are then put into annealing hovens of which there are some twelve, and are kept in this state for six days after which they are taken out. Glass which is unannealed is too brittle for use; and a soda-water bottle not annealed would break at a pressure of 50 lbs per square inch, while it is required in India to stand the ordinary pressure of 150 lbs. per square inch. There is a testing machine in the Factory to test the resisting power of the bottles. It was found on experiment in the Factory performed before His Excellency the Governor of Madras' Presidency and the Lord Bishop Southwark who lately paid a visit to the Glass-Works, that English bottles made by Messrs. William Bernard and Sons of London burst at a pressure of 380 lbs. per square inch, whereas bottles of the same size and same weight manufactured in this Factory stood a pressure of 460 lbs. per square inch.

IV. Co-operative Banking Business in the Southern Presidency : A Step in Advance

In our last article on this subject (pp. 204-6 of Vol. V of this journal) we noticed that a very large class of banks, some one hundred and one in number, of which 24 are urban and 77 rural banks, represented the net result of the great Co-operative Bank movement in the Southern Presidency during the twelve months, July 1907 to June 1908, showing an increase in the twelve months previous of 38 new banks. There has been further growth in the same direction during the last year. The importance of this special Banking Movement is admitted, for these banks, as we have seen, in the first place, are organised and maintained by the people themselves, and teach them in a manner which nothing else can do, or do so well, the lessons of co-operation and self-government in matters affecting so nearly their primary economic interests. And the beginning of reform introduced by the agencies of these Co-operative Banks has shown itself in considerable reduction in the interest charged by the greedy money-lenders to the helpless village agriculturists. And these banks have further helped in the formation of small weaving and other factories, and industrial undertakings generally, so that to quote the language of Mr. A. C. Chatterjee

B. A., I. C. S., President of the second U. P. Industrial Conference (1908), "everywhere is noticeable the dawn of genuine industrial enterprise in the Madras Presidency led by the educated professional classes permeated with the true industrial spirit." One of the most remarkable developments in this direction has been the inauguration of District Conferences in that Presidency of delegates from the different rural Banks located in the districts. Although primarily organised by the authorities of the Co-operative Banks, these Conferences have also received the cordial and valued support and co-operation of leading men of the districts. This further movement in the shape of annual District Conferences of the representatives of the Co-operative Banks in the Madras Presidency, we consider to be a distinct and notable step in advance, fraught with endless possibilities of good. One of the latest of such Conferences, the Second District Conference of Chingleput Co-operators was held at Conjeveram on the 22nd January last (1910). The Conference was organised through the efforts of the Co-operative Societies in the district, some 44 of which sent in 70 delegates to it. Besides, some prominent men of the Presidency took part in the proceedings, including Sir V. C. Desikachari, Kt., L. D., organiser of the Madras Central Bank, Swamikannu Pillai, M. A. of the Revenue Board, Rai Bahadur M. Audlinarayana Ayar, K. S. Kothandarama Ayer, B. A., B. L., District Munsif, R. Rama Chandra Rao, B. A. Registrar, Mr. K. Vigiaraghava Chari, M. A., and C. P. Ramasami Ayer, Vakil, High Court. Another important feature of the Conference is that the proceedings on both the days the Conference met were in Tamil from start to finish, a fact which must not be overlooked when the question of popularity of the cause is considered. The business transacted by the Conference was also of much practical significance. Progress reports of the Co-operative Credit Societies were read by the respective delegates. Every delegate complained that the restriction imposed by the Government on public servants drawing a salary of Rs 35 and upwards against depositing in or becoming members of Co-operative Credit Societies, and a resolution was unanimously adopted praying that the Government might relax the rule aforesaid. A number of gentlemen spoke on the occasion, their speeches being marked by considerable practical good sense and ability. In the opinion of the President of the Reception Committee, Mr. M. E. Srirangachariar, B. A., B. L., Vakil of the Madras High Court, the Conference was "a necessary sequel to the wonderful development of the Co-operative Credit movement" in this district.

V. The Striking Success of the Indian Bank, Ltd., Madras

Besides a large number of Co-operative Banks, rural and urban, to which we have just referred, the Southern Presidency boasts of no less

than four important Banks which do not come under the above description. Of these, three are situated in the mofussil and one in the capital of the Southern Presidency. In our last (pp. 206-9 of Vol. V.) we referred in detail to these Banks. There is one point, however, in connection with the last Bank at Madras (known as the Indian Bank, Madras) which, to our mind, deserves special mention as indicative of the whole-hearted co-operation between the people of the Southern Presidency and the promoters of the Bank. In our opinion, not the dividend which the Bank has declared as payable to the shareholders for the last year, although that is respectable enough (being no less than 5 per cent per annum), but the cordial co-operation between the people and the Bank to which we have just referred, as shown in the huge deposits that have been paid into the Bank that constitutes the striking success of this banking enterprise. These people's deposits in the Indian Bank of Madras last year came up to the large total of close upon thirteen lakhs and a half. No doubt this is a small sum for a bank with a paid up capital of ten lakhs of rupees, but the progressive increase of these deposits, considering the short time the Bank has been at work (it was in March, 1907, that this Bank was registered), furnishes gratifying testimony to the growing confidence of the public in its management. This is all the more remarkable as the Bank was started at a time when the failure of a great commercial House in Madras, namely the failure of Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co. in which the whole of the Southern Presidency were interested as investors, had shaken to the foundations public confidence in banking concerns. This was no doubt a serious handicap to the infant institution; but the sound and cautious work of the Directors soon gained the confidence of the public, with the result that the gross income of the Bank for the four successive half-years, beginning 30th of June 1907 rose to higher and higher figures,—*e. g.*, from about thirteen thousand (for the first half-year) to about forty-nine thousand (for the second half-year); to about fifty-two thousand (for the third half-year); to rupees seventy-two thousand (for the fourth half-year). Thus, the Indian Bank notwithstanding great and apparently insuperable difficulties at the very threshold of its career has been able to turn out fairly good and satisfactory work; and it was announced in the Directors' Report (dated 18th January, 1910 for the year ending 31st December, 1910) at the Third Ordinary General Meeting of the Shareholders of the Bank held at its Head Office, "Ramakoti," Georgetown, Madras, on the 26th of February, 1910, that the *nett* profits for the half-year ending 31st December, 1909, came up to the high total of

rupees half a lakh ; notwithstanding the general trade depression of the year on account of which the Bank's resources did not find as full an employment as could be wished. It is noteworthy, as mentioned by the Chairman of the Meeting, that some of the Native Indian States in other parts of India have been giving some help to the infant institution.

We conclude by drawing the reader's attention to the vote of thanks recorded by the Meeting, to the Hon'ble Mr. Justice V. Krishnaswami Iyer for his valuable services during his previous connection with the Bank. Mr. Krishnaswami Iyer of the Madras High Court worked hard at the beginning of this Bank's career to usher it into existence. In the opinion of the Chairman of the above Meeting of Shareholders, "but for his great exertions the Bank would not have been called into existence, nor would it have attained the success it has now achieved." The vote of thanks ran in these words : "That this Annual General Meeting of the Indian Bank, Ltd., places on record the deep sense of gratitude of the Shareholders and the public both in the City and in the Presidency, for the splendid and invaluable services rendered by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice V. Krishnaswami Iyer in establishing the Bank and promoting its interests and usefulness."

We heartily congratulate all engaged in the work of the Bank on the results and the excellent progress the Bank has steadily been making.

SWADESHI INDIA OR INDIA WITHOUT CHRISTIAN INFLUENCES : AN EXPOSITION AND A DEFENCE—NINTH PART

Continued from pp. 44-46 of the last preceding number (March, 1910)

SECTION TWENTY-SIXTH

In studying the subject of Swadeshi India, two facts have come out in the course of our discussion : *Firstly*, that certain countries like Ceylon, Java, Cambodia, etc., which are outside the geographical limits of India, must be studied and regarded as integral parts of India by reason of their thorough Indianisation. And, therefore, *secondly*, when we proceed to enquire into their public institutions which are of a benevolent, charitable or philanthropic character,—institutions originating exclusively under Indian influences as distinguished from foreign Christian influences,—it is clear that the memorials preserved of them in those outside countries, in words, in stone or on canvas, must be regarded as Indian Swadeshi institutions, as evidencing and representing the overflowing spiritual life of India from which they drew their inspiration. All this appears to be so obvious that we might have spared ourselves the re-statement of this double fact. In the case of

Ceylon, in particular, there are ample evidences of the existence of public hospitals from times long anterior to the birth of Christianity—from, in fact, the 4th or 3rd century B. C., so as to exclude altogether the possibility of foreign Christian influences. And these Swadeshi Indian or Sinhalese institutions, in whichever way they are put, (*Indian* institutions,—as owing their origin exclusively to Indian influences ; and *Sinhalese* institutions also,—as situated within the geographical limits of Ceylon and also as being instituted by Sinhalese kings and peoples)—these Swadeshi Indian and Sinhalese benevolent institutions can, therefore, be best understood and appreciated in the light of the environment created by forces from India,—forces that gave them birth and to which also they owed their continuance. Now, these Indian forces were undoubtedly and specially, as pointed out and suggested in the last preceding or the Eighth Part of this series of articles,—religious in character. The transformation of Sinhalese life along Indian ways was undoubtedly and specially the product of religious forces brought down from India and strengthened by constant contact with her. And lastly, these religious forces at work in the island of Ceylon, which would decisively explain, as we shall show, the presence of hospitals and dispensaries throughout that island for a space of sixteen centuries and more,—these forces, principally, were the offspring of that mighty indigenous religion of India, the religion of Buddha, which exercised dominion over peoples and princes within and outside the limits of India for a long, long time, and which still holds sway over a very large part of the Asiatic continent. The process of transformation under Buddhist influences, which Ceylon underwent in the Asokan times and which continued down through the succeeding centuries, clearly explains Sinhalese life in many of her phases,—her arts, language, and literature and institutions of public utility and benevolence,—thus giving the lie to the doctrine ignorantly believed in and circulated by many well-meaning exponents of the Christian faith that neither in Hinduism, nor in Buddhism, nor in Mahomedanism, is there to be found the secret of life ; for, from the Christian standpoint, to which we have so often referred in the course of this series of articles,* these pagan religions, as they are called, are “destitute of all those fruits of Christianity which we often term charitable, philanthropic, benevolent.” It is to us, modern educated Indians, upon whom the impress of foreign influences, and Western Christian influences in particular, lies so heavily—it is to us, under such circumstances of domination, almost inconceivable that the principles of the Buddhistic faith were fruitful of such mighty

* *Vide*, pp. 109-110 and pp. 125-127 of Vol. V of this magazine.

results in the mainland of India and all the other countries that submitted to her spiritualising sway,—fruitful of results in every department of the people's activities, in their arts, language, literature and also public institutions of utility and benevolence. And in the case of Ceylon, where the sway of Buddhism has continued almost unbroken down to our own days, we have incontestable evidence of Buddhism ruling and guiding and directing philanthropic activities of the rulers of the land even so late as the last half of the 18th century A.D. Thus, we read in the National Chronicle of Ceylon, the *Mahawanso* (Chapter XCIX)* that the King of Kandy, Kirti Sri Raja Sinha (कीर्ति श्रीराजसिंह), who reigned from 1747 to 1780, "meditated on the Noble Law (of Buddha) and steadily practised the four forms of kingly virtues, *viz.*, giving of gifts, speaking kind words, seeking the good of others, and regarding their fellow creatures as they do themselves;" while the princes, his brothers "sought to do good in divers ways and conducted themselves according to the king's wishes, and *made themselves one with the religion and the people.*" While devoted to the welfare of the people, this King was also devoted to the bodily welfare of the Buddhist priests in the island and made ample provision for their medical treatment. The writer in the *Mahawanso* (chap. XCIX, p. 356) after making certain prefatory statements declares that the King made provision for the treatment of the bodily diseases of the priests, appointed physicians, spent lavishly out of the royal treasury on the purchase of medicines; and he concludes by making the following noteworthy observations:—"Now, Buddhism hath declared that of all temporal blessings, the blessings of health is the best and the highest, and this blessing did the King confer on them. In short, *he maintained the religion of the supreme Buddha in perfect splendour.*" We read also in the same chapter (p. 356), with reference to the motives of the King in undertaking the above work of charity:—"In this world there are two kinds of diseases to which novitiates and priests are liable, namely, those of the body and those of the mind. Of these, for the cure of the diseases of the mind Buddha, the greatest of men, has provided the *Vinaya* rules and the

* The *Mahawanso* keeps up a continuous record of Sinhalese history extending from the invasion of the island by Vijaya from Bengal in the 5th century B. C., down to the British occupation of the island in 1815 A.D. Scholars are agreed that the Chronicle was begun to be composed in the reign of the Sinhalese King, Dhatusena, in the 5th century A.D. "The *Mahawanso* is originally based on the historical materials contained in the Sinhalese *Attha Katthas*, no longer extant, and on legends and traditions among the people." These covered the period—5th century B.C. to 5th century A.D. The narrative was carried on under subsequent sovereigns down to the end of the 18th century,—a final supplement bringing the record up to the British occupation of Kandy in 1815 A.D.—*Vide*, Tennent's *Ceylon* vol. I, pp. 315-16; Dr. Coomaraswamy's *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, p. 7; Vincent A. Smith's *Early History of India*, 2nd. edition, p. 9.

Suttanta discourses. But the priests, after that they are instructed in the *Vinaya* and *Suttanta* remedies that are effectual in destroying lust and diseases of the mind, are liable to be afflicted with bodily diseases, by reason of which it is hard for them to practise the doctrines and precepts of religion. Therefore, the lord of the land made provision for the treatment of their bodily diseases."

Thus, works of benevolence were in Ceylon, as in India, religious in origin; and further, the influence of the religion of Buddhism in Ceylon, as in India, inevitably led to the institution of works of philanthropy and benevolence, both by the people and the rulers. And speaking of Sinhalese hospitals and dispensaries, in particular, we shall have occasion to bring forward evidences of the most unimpeachable kind to show that from the 3rd century B.C. down to the 13th A.D., those institutions owed their origin to the same religious impulses.

SECTION TWENTY-SEVENTH

(A)

The influence of the Buddhist religion as a factor in the development of Sinhalese national life cannot be ignored. Buddhism brought in the seeds of life into the polity of the Sinhalese people. From the days of Asoka in the 3rd. century B.C., when Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon, down to the 12th and 13th centuries A.D., it has been a religious as well as a social factor in the island, of great and inspiring energy, directing the lives of the princes and peoples to acts of great and unselfish benevolence. And reaching downwards to the end of the 18th century, it was, as we have seen, a force to be reckoned with. Although the religious enthusiasm has waned considerably in these modern days of Christian and European influence in the island, it is still able to keep its head above the surging waters. No study of the Sinhalese public institutions like hospitals and dispensaries is, therefore, worth the name unless it is made clear and established once for all that they were indissoluble parts of an organised religious movement embracing the manifold activities of the people. Buddhism proved itself distinctly powerful for social good in Ceylon for the space of sixteen hundred years and more beginning with the 3rd century B.C., and it still maintains itself in the island in the presence of newer forces, the result of modern conditions brought about by contact with the West. In that standard text-book on Indian Buddhism by the well-known German scholar, H. Kern,—*The Manual of Indian Buddhism* forming part of the *Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research* published in Germany, we read :—"All agree that Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon in the days of Asoka. This fact we consider to be historical. * * In the three centuries which elapsed between the death of Asoka and the reign of Kanishka, Buddhism was steadily on the increase in the North. It extended its conquest beyond the limits of India so far as Bactria

and China, *whilst in Ceylon it acquired the supremacy which it has retained up to this day amongst the Sinhalese population.*" (*Ibid*, pp. 117, 118). Again, speaking with reference to Indian influence on Sinhalese ecclesiastical history, the same authority makes the following observations:—*"Up to our days Buddhism has maintained itself against the encroachment of Saivism, Islam and Christianity.* The clergy has lost much of its influence, but the Law of Buddha is still held high by the aristocracy and the people of old Sinhalese extraction, though the popular form of religion is extremely like Hinduism. (*Ibid*, p. 132). And Mr. Vincent A. Smith in his *Early History of India* (2nd. edn., p. 177) while pointing out that "Asoka's openly avowed preference for Buddhism and his active propaganda established it as the dominant religion in India and in Ceylon" goes on to say that *"it still retains that position in the Southern Island"* (Ceylon). And lastly, in that most recent work by Dr. R. S. Copleston, who held office in Ceylon as Bishop,—his *Buddhism Past and Present, in Magadha, and Ceylon* (Longmans, 1908), we find similar references to Buddhism—to Buddhism of the old type and Buddhism in its present revived aspect. Thus, we read:—"There are two Buddhisms now in Ceylon: The residuum of the old Buddhism of the past centuries, as it lingers in out-of-the-way places, and as it has shaped the habits and ways of thought of those who are not under European influence; and a new revival much more self-conscious and artificial, which aims indeed only at reviving what Buddhism always professed to be, but which has been influenced, in its estimate of that profession very largely by Europeans." The Bishop then goes on to describe the great revival of Buddhism, which undoubtedly has taken place in Ceylon during the last twenty years. Speaking of Buddhist religious festivals of the present day among the peoples of the island, the Bishop declares:—"One may see along the roads of the Southern Province twenty monks together, proceeding with some dignity, with very handsome fans and new silk umbrellas, with bowels neatly covered with yellow cloth, and carried by boys well-dressed in white, to the place of entertainment. And for miles one may meet companies of gaily-dressed people, women especially, but by no means exclusively, streaming along, cheerful and well-behaved, towards shrines which a few years ago attracted not a tenth of the number. Near such a shrine itself may be seen a hundred or more women, all in white, each carrying in her uplifted hand a piece of the fragrant areca flower, shouting 'Sadhu' from time to time as they marched along, and at any rate enjoying the exhilarating sense of procession."

(B)

The strength of the Buddhist religion in Ceylon, as in India, was seen not only on the purely religious side,—the side represented by ideas and doctrines relating to man's present and future and his modes of worship; but also in the direction given to national activities and the development of a unique and powerful civilisation as an expression

of the national life. So that from this point of view, a study of the Sinhalese national and public institutions would become possible only in the light of the religious atmosphere surrounding them on every side. And the problem of the advancement of religion and of the welfare of the people would no longer appear in this view as two problems, but as *one*, being the counterparts of each other. Accordingly, we discover a marvellous change coming over the Sinhalese people as the result of forces set in motion by the introduction and subsequent development of the Buddhist faith in the island. Mr. Edward Upham, M. R. A. S., F. S. A., a recognised authority, in Vol. I of the *Sacred and Historical Works of Ceylon*, edited by him (1833), makes certain pregnant observations on the subject which we reproduce below. Says he :—"There is another point we can dwell on with pleasure, namely, the rapid and remarkable progress of the Sinhalese in every branch of national improvement, *which seem to have followed the benign influence of Buddhism*, as compared with the state in which it found them. It may, indeed, be said that though Buddhism has long ceased to exhibit characters which could vie with the mortifications and renunciations so common among the ascetic votaries of Brahmanism, its doctrines have been applied to far greater advantage *by recommending active benevolence and the practice of the useful arts*, specially agriculture ; and its annals dwell with every expression of applause on the conduct of those sovereigns who, by the formation of tanks or otherwise facilitating the labours of the people gave evidence of their wish to become the benefactors of the country." (Vide *Upham's Introduction*, pp. xxvii, xxxvi). The same point is also brought out with equal distinctness by another recognised authority, Sir Emerson Tennent, whose *History of Ceylon* is a standard work on the subject. In Vol I of his *History* we read :—"Before the arrival of Wijay" (विजय), who invaded Ceylon from Bengal in the 5th century B. C., "agriculture was unknown in Ceylon. It was to the Hindu kings who succeeded Wijay that Ceylon was indebted for the earliest knowledge of agriculture, for the construction of reservoirs and the practice of irrigation for the cultivation of rice. The first tank in Ceylon was formed by the successor of Wijay, and their subsequent extension to an almost incredible number is ascribable to the influences of the Buddhist religion, which abhorring the destruction of animal life, taught its multitudinous votaries to subsist exclusively upon vegetable food. Hence, the planting of gardens, the diffusion of fruit trees and leguminous vegetables, the sowing of dry grain, the formation of reservoirs and canals, and the reclamation of lands in situations favourable for irrigation." (*Ibid*, pp. 429, 430).

It thus appears that the religious movement in Ceylon, as in India, was the one supreme factor of the national life that can properly explain the existence of charitable and philanthropic institutions like hospitals and dispensaries throughout the island for a period extending over sixteen centuries, from the days of Asoka and Devanampiya Tissa (the first king of Ceylon who became a convert to the Buddhist faith) to the times of Parakrama Bahu, a powerful and charitably-disposed Sinhalese monarch of the 12th century, A.D. And the study of Sinhalese hospitals and dispensaries as a part of the study of Swadeshi India *untouched by Christian influences* is, therefore, only possible in the light of the forces set in motion in the island by the strength of a religion introduced from India and developed by constant intercourse with her.

PART II: TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

THE FOUNDATIONS OF NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION : A REPRESENTATIVE OPINION

We are in hearty agreement with the following opinions of a representative Indian Journal, the *Bengalee* newspaper of Calcutta, on the subject of *Indian National Reconstruction*. The extracts are taken from a leading article, "Basis of National Reconstruction," appearing in its issue of the 24th March, 1910.

I

"There is a painful want, it has to be admitted with regret, a want that is beginning now to be keenly felt, of precise and accurate information about the past achievements of our race. Yet Nationalism uninspired and unilluminated by an adequate appreciation of the nation's history and culture, of what and how much its members have done and have realised in the domains of Thought and Art, is somewhat of a contradiction in terms. The New India that rose before the Europeanised vision of the enthusiasts of the earlier generations—an India completely purged altogether of her old faiths and institutions, ideals and aspirations and delighting in practices and systems and disciplines imported brand-new from the West, is now no more. Closer acquaintance with Europe, a deeper insight into her thought and history, backed up by the experience acquired in their own country, has taught Indians to look upon their past with reverence, as pre-conditioning and outlining their work in the present, as containing the revelation in which they must discover the promise of the future. The idea of a nation as an organic unity in space *as well as in time*, in reference to its past, present and future, is now an established faith amongst us. Thus far we may be said to have progressed from the position of our predecessors. But that lays upon us the sacred obligation to redeem our past from the present condition of vagueness and obscurity, to know it with certainty, *to equip ourselves with clear, precise and ample information about our ancient civilisation and culture before we think of building upon it the programme of our future*. How have we discharged this obligation?"

II

"We would not be guilty of ignoring the marked success Indian Nationalism has already achieved in some matters of vital significance. The renaissance of Indian Art in the hands of the gifted Bengalee young men who are making the old and the true Indian idea of beauty once more a living reality and inspiration to their countrymen is full of infinite promise. Dr. P. C. Ray's books on Hindu Chemistry are a luminous representation of the knowledge of our ancestors in the terms that are demanded by the spirit of our times. And the brilliant chapter added by Principal Brajenċra Nath Sengupta constituting, as it does, an encyclopaedia in miniature on Indian Thought is inspiring

earnest of what the writer could tell us in detail in the language of modern thought, (if he would only consecrate himself to the high and serious mission), of India's rank and worth as a contributory to the moral, intellectual and religious progress of the human race."

III

"A strong undercurrent of a desire for a correct knowledge of the past had been perceptible for some time back in the nation's thought, and seemed to find its visible expression and embodiment in the foundation of the National Council of Education. But up to the present moment, this institution seems to have done little in the direction we have indicated, if we may be allowed to say so without offence, in fulfilment of the ardent hopes that it raised at the time it was founded. It strikes us that the important thing for the Council to keep in view is not merely the instruction of a number of Indian youths, but the bringing together and the co-operation of a number of men who are fitted by their ability, perception and inclination to re-state scientifically the culture of our forefathers. There are such men in the country, none too many of course, and we think the National Council would do its highest duty to the Nation ; and deserve well of it, —surely the finest aspiration that could prompt and guide an institution,—by securing the services of these men with a view to making them and enabling them to dedicate the whole of their time and effort to the work of which we have spoken."

EDITORIAL COMMENT ON THE ABOVE

We are in hearty agreement with most of the ideas contained in the three foregoing extracts. We have been carrying out in our own humble way and according to the limits of our present resources the programme of work laid down above with such clearness of expression. We have only recently been able to secure the co-operation of a few workers among whom are men of high intellectual and academic attainments, whose mission in life apparently is to carry out the programme of work to which the *Bengalee* draws our prominent attention. A few,—a small number are at present exclusively devoted to the work and they are helped by a small number of undergraduates, who are attached to them as apprentices and who like their masters are exclusively devoted to this literary mission of research-work in the department of Indian civilisation and culture. *But the point which we are anxious to bring out and make clear* is that men whose mission in life is of the kind we have referred to would on no account like to place themselves under the control of an outside agency, call it by what name you will, an Executive Committee, a Council, a Board of Governors, or of Directors to whom they would stand in the relation of an employee to an employer. That is the very crux of the whole question. A body of talented and devoted investigators or research-workers

would, no doubt, willingly own allegiance to their own *gurus i.e.*, men who by their achievements in the special departments of their work have established their claims to be recognised as masters, men like Sj. Rabindra Nath Tagore, Dr. J. C. Bose, M.A., D. Sc., Dr. P. C. Ray, D. Sc., Ph. D., Dr. B. N. Seal, M.A., Ph. D. for instance. But they would on no account like to "play second fiddle," to use a vulgar but expressive phrase, to a controlling agency composed only of lay-men, however high their social position,—they would on no account accept a position of subordination to an Executive Committee or Governing Council composed, for instance, of successful professional men, doctors, engineers, merchants, solicitors, barristers, pleaders, managers of estates, or on the other hand, ex-magistrates, ex-judges, or other retired officials or retired professional men,—men, in fact, whose supreme qualification in life, to assume control over such men would apparently be not that they are or have been investigators themselves, but that they have been highly successful in their several professions. The National Council of Education, therefore, has little chance of securing the services of men of the higher stamp, of men who are higher, as investigators, to the men composing the governing body of the Council ; or even of younger men who by their attachment to a higher sphere of work have already placed themselves, morally speaking, on a superior plane of thought and aspiration ; unless, indeed, the whole scheme of control is thoroughly remodelled, and the present statutory controlling body is relegated to a subordinate place in the scheme of the Council. In this state of things it appears to us that the duty of Society—the conscious portion of our Society—would be not to go about *engaging* services of true workers by offering fees as remuneration for their work,—that would be placing them in a subordinate relation to the body of managers ;—not to go about to *buy* them and so enjoy the reputation of having these people as so many officers working under control. No,—but the proper duty of Society would be first to assume the right attitude towards them by recognising their superior worth, and then to place before them all available resources in men and money, but without attempting to keep them under the tight control of a body of managers filling the highest place in a system of organisation. No,—the proper duty of Society would be not to demand a definite return through a body of Managers for services rendered to them ; or as may happen, in the event of an inadequate return of work,—to demand an explanation,—but the proper duty would be to leave the worker absolutely free to work at his subject and the question of outturn wholly to the care of the worker himself. That would be in strict accordance with the ancient Indian spirit of honouring the learned and it would also be the best way of promoting Learning, promoting the highest interests of future Indian culture. The bane of modern Western civilization is *commercialism* in every department of man's activity, and it has begun to visibly invade and affect educational methods pursued in India from time immemorial. This spirit of commercialism with its inevitable system of organised control is ill-calculated to stimulate the aspiring life within ; and it is not calculated to persuade original men devoted to Learning, or even men aspiring to devote themselves to Learning, to place themselves under the depressing conditions of life incident to a position of subordination to a Board of lay Managers in a scheme of organisation. Their only right position can be either of freedom or of authority ; and the only function of outside people would be not to assume functions of control as a return for services rendered, but the right attitude for them to assume would be to place themselves in a relation of subordination to the workers as their active helpers. Neither in our National Council of Education, nor in other educational institutions in this part of our country that we know of, is there any provision made for the carrying out of this idea,* nor even is the need for assuming this attitude towards workers devoted to Learning felt or appreciated.

INDIAN NATIONAL SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS AND INDIAN NATIONALITY : VIEWS OF DISTINGUISHED STUDENTS OF INDIAN CULTURE.—II

(Continued from pp. 9—11 of part II. of March, 1910 number)

V. Unity of Indian National Culture : Contribution by the Great Mughal Emperors

"Islam, in the days of its power rejoiced to establish itself as Indian on Indian soil. The architectural works of the Mughal Emperors are full of enthusiasm for the Indian past ; for the Indo-Saracenic style owes as much to Rajputana as to Mecca and Constantinople. It would be hardly possible to think of an India in which no great Mughal had ruled, no Taj been built, or to which Persian Art and Literature are wholly foreign. Few great Indian rulers have displayed the genius for statesmanship which Akbar had, a greater religious toleration than he. The reign of Akbar was contemporary with that of Elizabeth, and with a still greater statesmanship and breadth of mind and heart, he undertook to inaugurate a vast *national*, as distinguished from a sectarian policy. Few, indeed, of the world's monarchs have ever used so marvellous an opportunity with such wisdom and magnanimity as this Emperor of Delhi. Akbar's three immediate descendants—Jehangir, his son, Shah Jehan, his grandson, and Aurungzeeb, his great-grandson—were all men of marked ability. They retained intact the Empire which his genius had consolidated. But unfortunately, of them all, Aurungzeeb's was the sectarian and somewhat narrowly devotional temperament of the English Catholic queen, better fitted to make him a Saint of Islam than velder of the Indian nationality, and Shah Jehan alone had a genius of admifistration comparable to his grandfather's of initiation. In other words, India had the misfortune in her own case to see Elizabeth succeeded, not preceded by Mary. Such were the four great Mughals, whose united reigns began two years before the accession of Elizabeth, and ended at the date of the Parliamentary union of England, and Scotland, scarcely yet two hundred years ago."

"Such were they all ; but of them all, Akbar stands unrivalled in liberal statesmanship, and Shah Jehan in personal genius. In the hands of this last monarch the unity of India became a visible fact, symbolised by the dazzling beauty of his buildings, and even Pope Leo X must give way to him for taste. Now it was the *Taj*, raising its stately head above its jewelled walls and lace-carved windows of white marble, in inconsolable love and sorrow. Again, it was the *Pearl Mosque* of Agra, vast in proportion and almost unadorned, in severity of creamy stone, of sun-steeped court and shadowed aisles and sanctuary. Yet once more some dainty palace or exquisite oratory, the baths of an empress or the hall of audience of a king, testified to the fact that a lord of artists sat upon the throne. But it was not only in white marble that Shah Jehan gave the reins to *his pride in the Indian soil and the Indian people*. He built the modern Delhi, with her red walls, her broad streets, and her magnificent fortress. He made the *Peacock Throne*, of gold and jewels, which was removed to Persia by Nadir Shah a hundred years later. He and his court and household were collections of choice books and pictures. And, like all the Mughals, he was himself a past master in the art of illuminating manuscripts. In all this Shah Jehan proved himself the monarch, not of some section, but of all his subjects, and as such he is regarded by India to this day. He might not be in active sympathy with every phase of the popular creeds, but there is none who is cut off from sympathy with him. The enthusiasm that spoke in his works is deeply understood. His addition of a third style to the architectural glories of the country is never forgotten. And it is still remembered by the people that, according to the unanimous voice of history, India was never so well administered as in his day." (Adapted from Sister Nivedita's *Web of Indian Life* and Dr. Coomaraswamy's writings.)

PART III

SECTION I : NATIONAL EDUCATION MOVEMENT

THE BENGAL LITERARY CONFERENCE, 1910, AND THE BENGAL NATIONAL COLLEGE,

In connection with the Bengal Literary Conference which met this year at Bhagalpur on the 14th and the 15th February last, a very interesting and unique Exhibition was held of photographs of various places of archaeological, antiquarian and historical interest, Buddhistic relics, geological specimens, Sanskrit, Arabic, Bengali, Hindi and Persian manuscripts, Ayurvedic medicines and scientific apparatus and instruments. The exhibits of the Scientific Section included many important instruments and apparatus (some 38 in number) turned out by the Scientific and Technical Workshops and the Chemical Laboratory of the Bengal National College, Calcutta. They were lent by the College authorities in response to an invitation from the conveners of the Conference. The more important of the exhibits were :—(1) *Glass Apparatus* manufactured in the Chemical Laboratory of the College, which included an Erdmen's Float, graduated Burettes and other graduated tubes ; (2) *Physical Science Apparatus* turned out by the College Scientific Workshop, including a Mirror Galvanometer (designed by Sj. Jagadindu Ray, the gifted Professor of Physics of the College), a Potentiometer, some Calorimeters, a Spherometer, a Photometer, a Screw-gauge and other apparatus for practical work in the Physical Laboratory ; (3) a number of *Microscopes turned out by the Technical Department of the College*.^{*} Sj. Jagadindu Ray, the Professor of Physics and Superintendent of the College and Sj. Manindra Nath Banerjee, Lecturer in Chemistry, Bengal National College, who had been specially deputed by the Executive Committee, attended the Conference, and explained to visitors at the Exhibition the construction, working etc., of these instruments. This part of the Exhibition, we are informed, attracted considerable attention of the visitors.

At the same Literary Conference, Sj. Manindra Nath Banerji read three papers respectively on the following subjects : (1) *Rasayanic Paribhasa or Indian Chemical Terminology* ; (2) the Nitre Industry in Tirhoot (Behar) and (3) Preparation of Makaradhwaja from a scientific point of view. Two papers on the first-mentioned subject were read at the Conference, one by Dr. P. C. Ray, and the other, by Sj. Bankim Chandra Mukerji. In his paper on *Rasayanic Paribhasa* or Chemical Terminology, Dr. P. C. Ray gave an interesting account of his own deep researches in the direction, showing how the ancient Chemistry of the Hindus contained some excellent technical terms, which exactly expressed the processes or properties involved and which even modern science could hardly improve upon. He also indicated that an exhaustive index of all the chemi-

* The lenses of course were imported articles.

cal terms in Bengali was in course of preparation by himself in collaboration with Pandit Harish Chandra Kabiratna of Calcutta. Sj. Manindra Nath Banerji had been engaged for some time past on the same subject and his paper on *Bengali Chemical Terminology* was interesting as well as suggestive. He proceeded on independent lines and his contribution is a valued addition to the growing literature on the subject. Besides Sj. Jagadindu Ray, Lecturer in Physics and Sj. Manindra Nath Banerji, Lecturer in Chemistry, both of whom attended the Conference, as delegates of the National Council of Education, two other members of the College staff, namely, Sj. Radhakumud Mukerjee, M.A., *Premchand Roychand Student*, Lecturer in Economics, and Sj. Binay Kumar Sarkar, M.A., Lecturer in History and English, also attended the Conference. We are glad also that a representative of the Malda District Council of National Education, Sj. Bepin Behari Ghosh, B.L., Pleader, attended the Conference and read a thoughtful paper on the subject of National Education.

MOVEMENT FOR EDUCATION OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES AND OF THE MASSES GENERALLY—IV

(Continued from pp. 25-30 of the March, 1910 number of this journal.)

I: Beginnings of Work in Bengal (continued.)

In the last preceding three numbers of this Magazine we have tried to give our readers an idea, however imperfect, of the efforts that are being made in different parts of the country to raise the educational condition of the depressed classes and of the masses generally. We have seen that Bengal in particular, which was till very recently so indifferent to the very important work of educating the depressed classes among the Hindus and the poorer sections of the Mahomedan community, has since begun to show signs of activity in the direction. We must confess that the efforts of our leaders, although encouraging for a beginning, are hardly equal to the urgent requirements of the occasion. We referred in our January issue to the keen struggle that has been going on for some time past between the Hindu higher castes and the Namasudras of the *Bill-tracts* in the districts of Faridpur and Backergunge and to the aggressive attitude assumed by the Namasudras to obtain social recognition. The most recent news, however, of a similar struggle between the depressed classes and the Kayasthas, a high caste people among the Hindus, for social rights and privileges comes from Syhlet and is told in some detail by the *Deshabarta*, a local vernacular weekly. There in one of the villages the Namasudras, the Malis, and the Kayasthas are at loggerheads. The Namasudras and the Dases of village Ontehari were quarrelling with one another for a long time past, with the result that the latter boycotted the former completely and took the vow that those amongst themselves who assisted the Namasudras, would be outcasted. Then, one Braja-

gobinda Das, a man of the middle classes among the Hindus, broke the vow and joined the Namasudras. So the Kayasthas and Dases of the place have stood against him—all in a body. The feeling of hostility has shown itself in the institution of as many as twenty-three lawsuits. So far for the Dases and Kayasthas on the one side and the Namasudras on the other. We now come to the case of the *Malis* of the place who are among the lower castes of the Hindu community. The *Malis* have declared that if the *Napits* (barbers) and *Dhobas* (washermen) do not serve them, they will not bear the *palki* (palanquin) for them. While the *Subdakar-caste* people have taken the oath that if the *Malis* and the Namasudras are averse to act as palanquin-bearers for them, they in their turn, will not serve the people of those castes on occasions of marriage. Thus, some sections among the depressed classes and low-caste people among the Hindus, such as the Namasudras, the *Malis*, the *Dhoolis* (village bandsmen), etc., on one side, and the Kayasthas on the other, have been quarrelling with one another with such bitterness that the Kayasthas have withheld lending money to them. This has temporarily suspended the frequent celebration of marriages in the several communities concerned. Not only this. The *Zemindars* have also ceased to avail themselves of the services of these depressed-class people in the matter of sowing operations. The struggle, in fact, has assumed various shapes and serious results are anticipated. The situation is, indeed, one that calls for a wiser treatment. And we cannot be too indebted to those of our people who have been trying hard to ameliorate the condition of the depressed classes by providing education to them.

Among the agencies working to this end, we consider the Faridpur District Association, to which we referred in our last issue, as one of the most important. One striking fact about the district of Faridpur is that one half of the Hindu population belongs to the Namasudra class, and the Association has set about its task for the amelioration of this class of the people with an amount of zeal and has achieved an amount of success which ought to furnish a strong incentive to work to our educated people in other districts of Bengal. The Association was started in August, 1907 with the following among other objects :—(1) To establish and maintain National Schools and to make provision for physical education, agricultural training and other special technical training in combination with the spread of general education. (2) To help in the manufacture of indigenous articles and the creating of a demand for Swadeshi manufactures, eschewing all foreign-made articles as far as practicable and giving preference to Swadeshi articles even at a sacrifice. (3) To bring about a relaxation of some of the hard and fast regulations of the caste system ; to remove evil practices among the different castes ; to form village associations and to strengthen Hindu Society in its efforts to enforce its rules upon its members. (4) To settle amicably by means of arbitration, disputes and differences between parties. The records of the Association for the first two years of its existence show that in all these departments of work a satisfactory

amount of work had been carried out. The Association has started Branches in a number of *thanas* or *Talukas*, and has over two hundred representatives enrolled as members. It has appointed regular preachers who work in the several *thanas* and are paid by monthly allowances. These preachers go from village to village, preach Swadeshi and furnish reports to the Association on such matters as education, sanitation etc. During the year 1908 twelve such preachers worked in ten of the *thanas* of the district, and it is noteworthy that three of them were Mahomedans.

The kind of educational work that the Association has been doing and with which we are more concerned here, owes much of its admitted progress to the efforts of these Swadeshi preachers. Wherever a preacher finds the necessity of starting a national primary school, he reports the matter to the Association, which then either directly starts, or help in the starting of such a school. In this way the Association has been increasing its sphere of educational work, and maintains at present no less than twenty-five National Schools in the district. One of these schools,—the National School at Kamargram, is a Secondary one, teaching up to the Fifth Standard Course of the National Council of Education, Bengal, while the rest are all Primary Schools. The most salient features of the schools under the Association are as follows :

The students in all these schools, with the exception of Kamargram and Burirhat schools and the Baonara Madrassa, belong to the artizan and the agriculturist communities. By far the largest numbers are *Namasudras* ; then come the *Mahomedans* (agriculturist) and last of all the Sahas, Subarnabaniks and Kamars and other miscellaneous classes among the depressed population. In Kamargram, Burirhat and Baonara schools there are also lots of students of the above classes intermixed with boys belonging to the upper classes. Again, in many of the schools for the Namasudra and Mahomedan cultivators, there are boys and girls belonging to these communities reading side by side.

It also speaks well for the Association that among its members and its preachers there are Mahomedan gentlemen, and that among the managers or secretaries of schools under it are Mahomedan workers. And this fact, together with the one already indicated that all classes of students in the schools read side by side without any distinction of caste or creed, goes to show the national character of the Association and to testify to the existence of excellent relations between the two great communities, the Hindus and Mahomedans, of the district. The schools under the Association teach some 1200 students all told. The number of students in each of the twenty-five schools ranges from 24 to 100, while the average number reaches the fairly large figure of 48. Again, the Association not merely keeps supervision over these schools, but has rendered also pecuniary help to them in the form of monthly grants-in-aid. The total grant comes up at present to Rs. 77 every month, and they range from Rs. 2 to Rs. 10 separately ; while the average grant to each school reaches over Rs. 3. Besides these grants, the Association has decided to spend Rs. 50 a month in maintaining an

Inspector of schools, at least for a period of six months in the year and limited as the resources of the Association are, it is not expected to do more at present. We now proceed to give some details about the progress of actual educational work which the Association has been the means of achieving. Of the fourteen *thanas* into which the district of Faridpur is divided, *all with the exception of one only*, possess one or more such schools each. The *thana* of Gopalgunge, which has the most high percentage of Namasudra population, counts no less than six schools under the Association.

The following list gives names of places where the schools under the Association are located with the amount of grant paid to each of them : *Thana Bhusana*—(1) Kamargram (High National school) Rs 10 ; *Thana Gopalgunge*—(1) Manikhar, Rs. 2 ; (2) Gobra, Rs. 2 ; (3) Majhiganti, Rs. 2 ; (4) Panchuria, Rs. 2 ; (5) Nabukhali, Rs. 2 ; (6) Manikhar (Night school), Rs. 2. *Thana Kotalpara*—(1) Hiran, Rs. 3 ; (2) *Duharpara*, Rs. 3 ; (3) Bagan Uttarpara, Rs. 2 ; (4) Dubagram, Rs. 4. *Thana Baliakandi*—(1) Baonara Rajdharpur (Madrasa), Rs. 5 ; (2) Sonaikuri, Rs. 2 ; (3) Ramnagar, Rs. 2. *Thana Muksudpur*—(1) Dhalagram, Rs. 2 ; (2) Nizamkandi, Rs. 2. *Thana Pansa*—(1) Para Belgachi, Rs. 2 ; (2) Helancha, Rs. 3. *Thana Nagarkanda*—Solapur, Rs. 2. *Thana Madaripur*—Bajitpur, Rs. 2. *Thana Gosanger Hat*—Burirhat, Rs. 10. *Thana Palung*—Yogpatta, Rs. 3. *Thana Bhanga*—Bhangarpara, Rs. 2. *Thana Rajbari*—Sajjankanda, Rs. 2. *Thana Sadarpur*—Nijagram, Rs. 2.

The above facts are sufficiently encouraging ; but it should be remembered that out of a total population of about nineteen lakhs and a half, so much as about three lakhs and a quarter are Namasudras and about ten lakhs are Mahomedans ; and it is clear that there is an almost unlimited field of work for the Association. Thus, although the Association will have to extend its operations many times over before it can adequately meet the requirements of the District, still the success it has already achieved in the line of educational work among the depressed classes of the Hindu community and the poorer classes of the Mahomedans calls for special commendation.

It would be invidious to mention names ; still we feel we should be wanting in the discharge of our duty if we did not mention the honoured name of S. J. Ambika Charan Muzumdar, M.A., B.L., President of the Association, as one of the prime-movers in this particular educational work, to whose lead the movement owes so much.

LITERARY WEALTH OF INDIA : SEARCH FOR PRAKRIT MANUSCRIPTS

I

During the last two or three years I was busy collecting Prakrit works, especially grammatical works in Prakrit. In my search for those works I saw a

small note in the Indian Antiquary* about *अद्वयचिन्तामणिवृत्ति* by *सुभचन्द्र*. After a few days I saw a quotation in Dr. Hoernle's edition of Chanda's *Prakṛita Lakshmana* from a Prakṛita grammar by Subhachandra along with the quotations from those of Hemachandra, Trivikrama and others. Anxious to procure a copy of the work I referred to Prof. Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* to find out the place where the work is to be found. To my astonishment I found the following remark under Subhachandra.

“*सुभचन्द्र—अद्वयचिन्तामणिवृत्ति*—In the proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal 1875-77 a Prakṛit grammar is mentioned called *अद्वयचिन्तामणि* by Subhasagara which may be identical with the present work. But I doubt whether the name Subhasagara has ever been heard of by any one else than by my honoured friend Mitra.”

Nothing enlightened on the point for which I referred to the Catalogue and being the more anxious I referred to the notices of Sanskrit Mss. by Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra and found the following entry in Vol. III. page 19.

“But the most important of my acquisitions are some treatises on the grammar of the Prakṛita language. These include 1st *Audaryachintamani of Subhasagara*. ... Name of these has been noticed in Prof. Lassen's *Institutones Linguae Prakriticae* and all of them will I think be new to European scholars. The first I believe is the same which Dr. Hoernle has noticed in the Indian Antiquary of August last (1873); but it is there described as the work of one Subhachandra. My codex comprises only two chapters. It has been copied from a text which from the appearance of its paper and the antiquated form of its writing I believe is about five hundred years old.”

From the above remarks it appears that *Sabdachintamanivṛtti* by Subhachandra must be the same as *Audaryachintamani*, the author of which must be either Subhachandra or Subhasagara. So with the hope that my desire will be fulfilled, I at once got *Audaryachintamani* on loan from the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Government Collection). When I went through the work for the quotation of Dr. Hoernle, I neither found the quotation in the work nor any possibility of its being found in the work as the author does not use independent signs as Trivikrama does in his grammar. So I set it down that this work is not the same as *Sabdachintamanivṛtti* by Subhachandra. Being disappointed in one particular I naturally began to doubt the reality of the other statement also; and strange to say, my surmise has turned out to be a reality.

• II

The author of this work is not Subhasagara, but one *Śrutasagara* as is evident from the following extract found in the colophon at the end of each *Adhyaya*
 * * सुमुस्तुश्रौदिवानन्दिप्रियमिषा श्रौमुखसंघपरमात्मविदुष सूति श्रौश्रुतसागरविरचिते अद्वयचिन्तारत्ननाम्नि * * .

Again, we have a commentary on Yasastilakachampukavya (Ed. Kavyamala 70) by one Srutasagara who writes the following in the colophon to that work at the end of every. Asvasa,

इति श्रीविद्यानन्दिभट्टारकप्रियमिश्रेण * * तर्कव्याकरणद्वन्द्वोत्कारसिद्धान्तसाहित्यादि-
शास्त्रनिपुणमतिना प्राकृतव्याकरणाशनेकशालारचनाबुधुना सूरि श्रीश्रुतसागरेण विरचितायां.

From the two colophons we see that the two Srutasagaras were the Sishyas of the same Sri Vidyanandin and the second author has composed a Prakrita grammar. So we may conclude that the author of this Audaryachintamani must be the same Srutasagara the author of the commentary on Yasastilakachampukavya.

Now a critic may question whether the two authors may not be Subhasagaras only instead of Srutasagaras. It is easy to clear this doubt. We must thank the author himself for having dispersed the cloud around his own name. He cites his own name as an example for तकारलोप under the 157th. sutra of 1st Adhyaya. According to that sutra श्रुतसागरः becomes शुभसागरी. If his name had been शुभसागरः it should have assumed a different form सुहसागरी according to another sutra. Again at the end of the 5th Adhyaya he inserts a verse* with his own name in it. There it is given as श्रुतसागर. If his name had been शुभसागर the chandas (metre) of the sloka will be spoiled. So we may undoubtedly say that the author of Audaryachintamani was Srutasagara only.

III

Let us now consider who this Srutasagara was, what were his other works and when he flourished? As with all Sanskrit authors, we cannot answer the above questions to one's satisfaction. Yet I shall make bold to publish the following few statements about the author and his time. Srutasagara was a fierce Digambara jaina and he devoted the greater part of his attention to crushing the rival sect. He was the pupil of Sri Vidyanandin who was the pupil of Devendrakirti. He was skilled in Sanskrit and Prakrit poetry. The following are some of his works which came under my notice. There may be some others also.

Audaryachintamani (औदार्यचिन्तामणि); a commentary on Shatprabhrita (षट्प्राभृत); a commentary on Yasastilakachampu (यसस्तिलकचम्पू); Anantavratakatha (अनन्तव्रतकथा); Jainendrayajnavidhi (जैनेन्द्रयज्ञविधि); Sidhachakrārchanastakanibandha (सिद्धचक्रार्चनाष्टकनिबन्ध); Tatwarthatika (तत्त्वार्थटीका); Jnānārnavagadyatika (ज्ञानार्णवगद्यटीका); Vratākathakosa (व्रतकथाकोष); Eki-bhāvastotra (एकौभावस्तोत्र); Purandaravidhikathopākhyānam (पुरन्दरविधिकथोपाख्यानम्); Dasasutritikatatwarthi (दशसूत्रटीकातत्त्वार्थी).

It was from the first three that we learn what I have above written about the author.

IV

This work Audaryachintamani is a treatise on the Grammar of the Prakrita language. The book consists of six chapters, but the last portion of the sixth

* सप्तमब्रह्मेरपिपूज्यपादेः कथं ह्यसुतेरकथं ह्यदेवेः ।

यदुक्तमप्राकृतमर्चयार् तत्प्राकृतं च श्रुतसागरेण ॥

chapter is wanting. I am at a loss to understand how Dr. Rajendra Lall Mitra was able to see only two chapters in this work and name the author as Subhasagara although at the end of every chapter his name is given as Srutasagara. The author does not use the Samjnas or signs of Panini or Hemachandra but makes use of new ones. As for instance in the Sutrām पाटिचपेटयोर्वा Srutasagara writes **इनंतपटिचपेटायां भवति**. But in the corresponding sutra चपेटापाटोर्वा Hemachandra says **चपेटाग्रद्धे ण्यन्ते च पाटो भाती टस्य षी भवति**. What Hemachandra calls **चात्** our Srutasagara calls as **इनंत**. This justifies the statement of the author—

समन्तभद्रेरपि पूजापादेः कण्डमुक्तैरकण्डकदेवैः ।

यदुक्तमप्राकृतमर्थसारं तत्प्राकृतञ्च अतसागरिण ॥

that he is composing only a sequel to the Grammar of Akalanka Pujyapada which does not treat of Prakrita. So the Samjnas in my opinion will be the same as those of Akalankapujyapada. And he quotes some sutras* of sanskrit grammar here and there and these are not found in any other grammar. So I suppose these also to belong to Akalankapujyapada's Jainendra-vyakarana.

This work is more extensive and explanatory than those of Hemachandra and Trivikarma as will be evident from the following extracts.

1. Hemachandra : प्रभूतेवः ॥ प्रभूते पस्य वो भवति । बहुतम् ॥
Trivikrama : same as Hemachandra.
Srutasagara : वः प्रभूते ॥ प्रभूतग्रद्धे षः पस्यस्य वकारो भवति । बहुतम् । बहुत्वमित्यस्य च बहुतम् ।
2. Hemachandra : कदलीयां अद्गुमे ॥ कदलीयां ग्रद्धेऽद्गुमवाचिनि दस्य रो भवति । करली । अद्गुम इति किम् । कयली । केली ॥
Trivikrama : अद्गुमे कदलीयाम् ॥ अद्गुमवाचिनि कदलीग्रद्धे तोः रत्वं भवति । करली । अद्गुम इति किम् । कयली ।
3. Srutasagara : कदलीयां गजपताकायाम् ॥ कदलीग्रद्धे यो दकारः तस्य रकारो भवति । गजपताकार्ये वाच्ये । करली । गजपताकायामिति किम् । केली कयली । अंशुमत्पक्षा ॥

I give only two examples above. There are many other such instances in the works.

V

It remains now only to say something about the time of the author. I can say nothing more than what Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar wrote on the subject. He argues that " Srutasagara was the pupil of Sri Vidaynandin who was the successor as high priest of Devendrakirti. Devendrakirti's predecessor was Padmanandin. In a work entitled Sudarsanacharita by Nemidatta, Simhanandin is represented as Nemidatta's teacher and as the pupil of Mallibhushana. Nemidatta wrote another work called Sripalacharita in Samvat 1585. Here he gives the following succession list

1. Padmanandin—High priest of Sarasvatiya Gachcha of the Muta

* आकृतः क्रिया इत्यनेन संस्कृतवचनेन ; उचिरादी षषे ; अद्गुम इत्यनेन ॥

Samgha; 2. Devendrakirti; 3. Vidyanandin 4. Mallibhushana, teacher of Simhanandin who was the teacher of Nemidatta. Samvat 1585.

Simhanandin the author's teacher was the pupil of this last. Nemidatta represents himself as "devoted to the service of Srutasagara and other Yatis." So that Srutasagara's literary activity must be referred to about the year 1550 samvat or 1494 A. D.

VI

In the August 1908 issue of the "Journal and Proceedings" of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was published a list of Jaina manuscripts deposited in the society's library. The list was prepared by Pandit Kunja Vihari Nyavabhushana Esq., Oriental Librarian of the Society. The list was intended to include all and only Jaina works. I was quite astonished not to find this work in the list. I am afraid that the Librarian did not think this to be a Jaina manuscript. The said list in addition to not containing this Jaina work includes some other works, such as ईश्वरप्रख्यभिरुद्धयं by ज्योतिषराज, कथतत्त्वकोशकेयव, and उद्धतप्रख्यभिरा, which are not Jaina works.

VII

A few words about Prakrita grammars in general and I shall have done. There are two schools of grammar in Prakrita dealing with the two dialects of the Prakrita Language. The works of Chanda, Hemachandra, Trivikrama, Subhachandra and Srutasagara dealing mainly with the Jaina dialects of Prakrita, the language of the Holy Sutras of the Jains and other Prakrita works of Jaina authors. The rest such as Prakritaprakasa of Vararuchi, Samkshiptasara of Kramadisvara, Prakritasarvasva of Markandeyakavindra, Kalpataru of Ramatarkavagisa and others deal with the Aryan Prakrit dialects used in the ordinary works, as for instance in the Sanskrit dramas of the present day. Of these Prakrit Grammars, those on the Aryan Prakrita are found but rarely here and there. The rest such as Hemachandra, Trivikrama &c. are very generally known and copies found everywhere. So persons studying the Sanscrit works in which Prakrita appears should study the treatises on the Aryan Prakrita dialects.* Why they should study these works only will be evident from the following extract from the commentary on Mrichchhakatika.

"अत्रादिम् प्रकरणे प्राकृतपाठकेषु सूत्रधारी नटी रदनिका वसन्तसेना तन्माताचेटीकर्णपूरकः चारुदत्तब्राह्मणी सोधनकः श्रेष्ठौ एते एकादशश्रीरसेनीभाषापाठकाः । अवन्तिभाषापाठकौ वीरकचन्दनकौ । प्राक्भाषापाठकौ विदूषकः । संवादकः शकारवसन्तसेनाचारुदत्तानी चेटकवितर्क भिक्षुचारुदत्तदारकः । एते षष्ठ्यभाषापाठकाः । अपञ्चगपाठकेषु शकारीभाषापाठकौ राधोयः । चण्डाडीभाषापाठकौ चण्डाडी । टकभाषापाठकौ माधुरदूतकरो ।"†

* *Prakrita Prakash*, with its four commentaries, *Sanjivani*, *Monorama*, *Subodhini* and *Manjari*; *Samkshiptasara* with *Prakrita-lipika* of Chandidevavarman, etc.

† *Running translation of the above*:—i. e. among the speakers of *Prakrita* dialects in this play the Manager, the Actress, Radanika, Basantasena, her mother, her female attendant, Karnapuraka, the Brahmin wife of Charudatta, Sodhanaka, and the Provost, these eleven speak the Sauraseni dialect; Biraka

From this we learn how many languages are met with in this work. And these languages were not treated of in the Jaina Prakrita grammars of Hemachandra, Trivikrama &c. All these are found in the other set of grammars. Sanskrit Pandits of to-day study most probably Hemachandra and others, and when any Prakrita word in the dramas appears to be ungrammatical according to them, ignorantly go to correct the word according to their grammar. I have known instances of such corrections. So I had to lay so much stress on this point. So grammars of Hemachandra's school are of no practical use in these days as those of the other school, although many words assume the same form according to the two sets of grammars. So I would advise persons wishing to study Aryan and Dramatic Prakrita, to study Prakrita Sarvasva, Kalpataru, and other works stated above which only will be of any practical use to them.

I give below a few of the verses occurring in the work, Audaryachintamani, which may be in any way helpful in inferring something about the author.

अथ प्रणम्य सर्वज्ञं विद्यानन्दास्पदप्रदम्
 पूजापादं प्रवक्ष्यामि प्राक्तनव्याकृतं सताम् ॥ २ ॥
 श्रीपूजपादसरि विद्यानन्दी समन्तभद्रगुरुः ।
 श्रीमदकलङ्कदेवी जिनदेवी मङ्गलं दिशतु ॥ २४४ ॥
 श्रीकुन्दकुन्दसूरे विद्यानन्दीप्रभाश्र पदकञ्जम् ।
 नत्वा च पूजपादं संयुक्तमतः परं वक्ष्ये ॥ ३ ॥
 श्रीपूजपाद नकलङ्क समन्तभद्र श्रीकुन्दकुन्द जिनचन्द्र
 विशाखसंज्ञाः । श्रीमाघनन्दि शिवकीटिशिवा
 यनाख्या विद्यानन्दिगुरुवः श्रममी दिशन्तु ॥ २४६ ॥
 श्रीसर्वज्ञमदीशं तदुक्तवचनानिनिखिलसुखभवनम् ।
 नत्वा विद्यानन्दं स्वाश्रयार्थं प्रवक्ष्यामि ॥ २ ॥
 विद्याविरोधं नोभनिधिसाधुनिस्त्वादाः श्रीमानुमाप्रसु
 रनन्तरपूजापादः । शंखो ददातु सद्यः शुभदानदक्षी
 विद्यादिनंदिगुरु राक्षसिदी सुसुप्तः ॥ १४६ ॥

N. B. In conclusion I have to state that I was not able as yet to see Subhachandra's Grammar. I do not know when I may succeed in my attempt. All my attempts till now have failed.

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and Chandanaka speak the Avanti dialect ; the jester-companion speaks the Prachya dialect ; the Message-men, the three attendants of the king's brother-in-law, of Vasantasena and of Charudatta, the Buddhist monk and the son of Charudatta, these six speak the Magadhi dialect ; the wife of the king's brother-in-law speaks the Apabhramsa dialect ; the Rashtriya speaks the Bhasha dialect ; the two *Chandalas* speak the Chandali dialect ; and Mathura and the two gamblers speak the Dhakka dialect.—*The Editor, Dawn Magazine.*

SECTION II : STUDENTS' COLUMN

NEAR BHUBANESWAR : THE TEMPLE OF GOURI DEVI

In the March 1910 number of this Magazine a very interesting article on "Bhubaneswar and its world-famed 'Temple'" from the pen of Sj. Ganapati Ray was published. The writer begins his article with an account of his journey from the city of Calcutta to Bhubaneswar with special reference to the precincts of Orissa and gives a bird's-eye view of the town which was for some six centuries the capital of the Kesari Kings, who were great patrons of learning in literature, science and art. The town of Bhubaneswar, in Orissa, is, no doubt, noted far and wide for its sanctity as the repository of a large number of Hindu temples which lie scattered about within its limits. Some of these temples are exceptionally beautiful and are of high architectural value and the most famous of them all is, of course, the temple of Lingaraj Mahadeva, better known as the temple of Bhubaneswar, which was the writer's main subject-matter, and which is admittedly regarded as one of the grandest and finest monuments of Hindu architecture. The town itself has many charms and the scenery it presents at places are very attractive. The Bindusarovar, a miniature lake, is another object of interest. It is a tank surrounded on three sides with groups of temples and having in the centre of it a temple, which cannot but excite the admiration of a visitor. The water is held in great veneration by the pilgrims, as it is supposed to be a composition of holy waters from all the famous shrines of the Hindus, and they bathe in the tank and perform religious rites by its side. Besides these notable objects, there are many other temples and shrines in Bhubaneswar, which the writer has not failed to notice, and which furnish striking evidence of the artistic skill of the ancient artisans of Orissa. "All these shrines" says the writer, "cluster round this lake (Bindusarovar), but at considerable distances, say one is half a mile, another is one mile, and so on. Far from this *Sarovar* there are many temples now covered with dense forest. It is said that seven thousand shrines once clustered round this sacred lake of Bindusarovar," Bhubaneswar is thus full of temples and shrines, most notable among them being the temple of Lingaraj Mahadev to which we have already referred.

But there are other temples outside the boundaries of the temple, but near to it, which, though not so important as the far-famed temple of Bhubaneswar, are still remarkable monuments of Orissan art. These temples are situated in the maidan by the bank of the river *Gangeya*, that runs along the foot of the rocky tableland, and the principal of them are nine in number, namely, the temple of *Gouri*, the temple of Parusrameswar, and those of Kedareswar, Mukteswar, Sidheswar, Raja Rani, Bhaskareswar, Megheswar and Brahmeswar. Of these nine temples, the temple of Gouri Devi, which forms the subject-matter of my present narration, is situated about a quarter mile off the great temple of Bhubaneswar.

The history of the origin of the above temple is thus briefly told. It is

said, that a '*Siddhapurusha*' or saint came to the place with a *tapaswini*, a female anchorite, when the place was full of jungles and built a holy cottage or *asram* and together practised *Yoga* and austerities, and it is on one and the same day attained *Samadhi* or salvation of their souls, in the course of a few years. They are believed to have come from the Deccan and possessed wonderful spiritual powers. When the Raja of Bhuvanewar came to know of their demise, he caused two temples to be erected on the spot where they attained *Samadhi* and set up two images in the two temples, viz., one a *Linga* of Mahadeva (*दक्षिणामूर्ति*), and other, an image of Gouri, called Gouri murti. This image of Gouri, is a beautiful specimen of sculpture, having been represented in the figure of a virgin girl. The face is nicely cut, the proportions of the limbs are well maintained and the contours of the body most skilfully depicted. The ornaments and the *saree* worn by the Devi have been artistically carved on the body with graceful foldings and pilgrims of both sexes feel enchanted at the sight of the image of Gouri Devi.

As time rolled on, the temple of Gouri was neglected, with the consequence that it began to show signs of decay and portions of it actually fell down. A rich inhabitant of Bhubaneswar, Sivaram Santra by name, then came forward with help and the temple was repaired. This repair, however, was carried out very clumsily ; for, the loose stones, that had fallen down from the sides of the temple were merely piled up with sand and lime in such a manner that the body of the temple was merely prevented from falling down. The present fantastic shape of the building is due to this circumstance. The two front wings are still missing and the dome with *kalasa* and other accessories are gone. It is the duty of the Hindus to help in renewing or rebuilding the two missing wings, rectifying the defects in the walls, and building the roofing dome and replacing the missing *kalasa*, on the top. The work of reparation of the temple being urgent, it was undertaken two years since by Swami Keshabanand ^{*}Brahmachary and it progressed for some time under the superintendence of Rai Prasanna Kumar Pal Sahab, an expert engineer of Bhubaneswar (B. N. Railway) ; but it was soon suspended for want of adequate funds. It appears that the work of repair would again be resumed and efforts are being made to collect funds for the purpose and a public appeal has been issued through the newspapers calling for donations to be sent to the engineer Rai Sahab at his above address. We hope that this time the progress would be satisfactory and the work of replacing and rebuilding would soon be completed.

Like the Bindusarovar at Bhubaneswar there is a sacred '*sarovar*' very close to the temple of Gouri Devi; which is also, like the Bindusarovar, an object of sacred interest. This reservoir, having connexion with a bed of spring, supplies water all the year round ; and the water is very good and clear and the *sadhus* compare it with the water of the Ganges at Hardwar. It never gets dirty or defiled, as the spring is perennial. Numerous people, pilgrims as well as local men, daily repair to that place to take a bath in the tank and to worship the god and goddess,

D. C. S.

To the Readers of this Magazine

AN APPEAL

We shall here take this opportunity of thanking those of our subscribers who have kindly secured subscribers to the *Dawn Magazine*, and are still doing so. Of them the names of Srijut Narendranath Das of the *Kala-Bhavan*, Baroda, Sj. V. R. Vasadeva Rao and Sj. P. Hanumant Row of the Madras Presidency, Sj. N. Meenatchisundaram of the Coromandal coast, Sj. P. A. Tyagaraja Ayer of the Malabar Coast, Sj. Bhuvan Mohan Choudhury, Sj. K. Gupta, Sj. Tarini Charan Choudhury and Sj. Nalinikanta Ray of United Bengal, Sj. Waishnava Das Puri of the Punjab, are worthy of particular mention. There are also other sympathetic subscribers who are silently trying to secure more readers and subscribers for this paper. It is gratifying to note that so many of our fellow-countrymen are so sincerely anxious to circulate this journal, which chiefly deals with accounts of India's achievements whether in the past or in the present, and the development of Swadeshi in all its aspects, Industrial, Educational, Social etc., in the different provinces of India. We are sincerely thankful to all who are helping in the circulation of this journal among Indians, especially as by so doing they are helping the cause of the Motherland.

By the grace of God our Magazine has now entered the sixth year (*New Series*) of its existence. We trust that our humble efforts in the spread of a wider knowledge about our own past and present, about our peoples and princes, nobles and great men are now appreciated by our countrymen. We are trying to present to our countrymen a picture of the high ideas and ideals of our own past civilisation, in order that we may not fall away from them and in order that the future of India may not be wholly severed from her past but that on the contrary we may rise to higher and higher steps of our national life through the life-giving inspirations which Indian Civilisation (Hindu and Islamic) affords. The work before us is arduous and the workers are few. Pecuniary difficulties also stand in our way. Notwithstanding all difficulties, however, this journal was published throughout last year, and is also being published this year, *in the very beginning of every month*. And further we were able to present to our readers in every issue a number of pages embodying the results of original work. For this purpose a number of distinguished, self-sacrificing workers are engaged on our editorial staff. But the number of our present subscribers is not large enough to enable us to make our paper cover all the expenses which we have to incur for it, especially as we are giving away this journal to students and other sections of our countrymen at a considerable sacrifice, in fact, at a price below the cost of production of the paper. May we not, therefore hope that every one of our subscribers will make it a point to secure at least five new subscribers to this paper during the present year : our financial condition will then permit us to make the paper truly popular and national.

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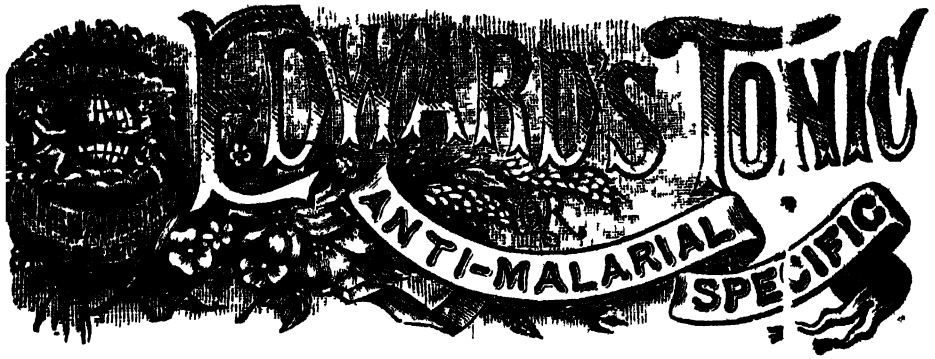
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length with steps of large squared stone and at the rates for native labour is estimated to have cost £1,300,000. The *Kalatuwa tank* was *forty miles* in circumference with an area of 6,000 acres and contained over 3000,000,000 (three thousand million) cubic feet. The dam had a length of *twelve miles*, averaging 50 to 60 ft. in height and was 200 ft. broad at the crest. * * * The Ambaganga river was dammed up by a solid work of masonry 99 ft. in top width and rising 40 ft. above the ordinary high level of the stream. An embankment was carried thence from 40 ft. to 90 ft. in height for *24 miles* forming a series of navigable lagoons and then further prolonged by a canal for *57 miles* more.

* * * Two schemes in the north are of such dimensions that their restoration at the present time would cost £200,000 (two hundred thousand pounds) * * * There are to-day more than 5000 reservoirs in the island, from which the cultivators derived their streams for irrigation, and almost the whole of these situated upon the sites of former works constructed ages since. Its monarchs of that far-off time were faithful Buddhists who sought to give practical proofs of their religious zeal which the great founder of their creed required of his followers. The works remain monuments to their piety and wisdom, combined perhaps with a natural proportion of personal pride in leaving such memorials behind them. *Even British Governors and Engineers in modern times have nourished a similar and not ignoble ambition.*" (Deakin's *Irrigated India*, pp. 239-240)

(C)

Leaving aside for a moment what Mr. Deakin characterises as the "boldness of the designs and the massive executions" of these hydraulic engineering projects of Ceylon which, he declares, "are still the wonder of the modern engineer," let us turn to the whole-heartedness of the irrigation policy pursued by the ancient Sinhalese monarchs. The same authority declares that "to a vegetarian race there was nothing so important as the assurance of certain and abundant harvests and, therefore, these ancient monarchs put their whole strength into an irrigation policy." * So the Sinhalese "developed during the earliest ages an irrigation system on the greatest scale. * * * In the past, according to the testimony of more than one district engineer, by means of elaborate connections and distributaries, every dribblet of water was employed and it has been the best hope of the recent (British) Administrators to be able to rescue the schemes which made this economy possible hundreds of years ago. There have been already 2,250 small tanks repaired by British engineers, without counting those which have been directly benefited" (*Ibid* pp. 240, 248). How this economy of water was effected, such that, in the writer's words, "every dribblet of water

was employed" would appear from the following observations of the Government contained in the *Report for 1888* from which Mr. Deakin quotes: "There is no part of the island except the central mountain districts, in which the remains of canals and tanks are not found. Almost all irrigation works are found on investigation to form but parts of *large connected systems*, affecting great stretches of country The *Yodiela* (canal) itself, 54 miles long, is only one link in a *connected chain of tanks* reaching far north and westward. *Another system* as yet only partially explored extended from the foot of the Central Mountains to the sea on the south coast; while the remains of ancient cities which are frequent in Uva show that the country was once highly cultivated by the agency of canals, the remains of which are often crossed when traversing the forest" (*Ibid* pp. 241, 242). From the foregoing facts the Official Report for 1888 mentioned above inclines to the view that the answer to the question, "whether the whole island was *ever at one time* under cultivation" must be made in the affirmative. A similar statement is also to be found in the Report of a Committee of the (Ceylon) Legislative Council, 1867. There we read:—"The Sinhalese monarchs vied with each other in the construction of irrigation works and in giving every possible encouragement to agricultural enterprise. Vast tracts of country now covered with the vegetation of centuries once abounded in grain" (*Ibid* p. 240). Mr. Deakin points to the extensive irrigation operations of King Parakrama Bahu of Ceylon (who flourished in the middle of the 12th century A. D.) in support of the view that water in Ceylon was not allowed to run to waste in the sea, but was, on the contrary, harnessed and utilised for irrigational purposes. "This King constructed 1470 tanks and 534 canals and repaired 1395 large with 960 smaller tanks and 3621 canals. Some of the older works, which he put into working order are believed to date back to 500 B. C." (*Ibid* p. 240). The subsequent fate of the Sinhalese irrigational system whereby "by means of elaborate connections and distributaries, every dribble of water was employed," may be thus stated in Mr. Deakin's words:—"During the period of the Tamil invasions of the 13th century many of these works were destroyed and others neglected so as to soon destroy themselves. The Portuguese were blind to their value and guilty of wilful vandalism, though the Dutch, who succeeded them, were unable from their own experience to appreciate the navigable canals and take some steps for their maintenance. Still little was done and the island, which had maintained according to the records no less than five million people, was unable, when its irrigation was restricted, to support more than three quarters of a million" (*Ibid* p. 242). Under British Govern-

ment, however, "2250 small tanks have been repaired by British engineers" and there have been considerable "restorations involving the reconstruction of 59 large reservoirs, of 245 anicuts or dams, and of 700 miles of canals, either wholly or partially renewed. Many of these works are of notable dimensions" (*Ibid* p. 248). These later works, undertaken by the British Government, it will be noticed, are mostly *restorations of older Sinhalese works* and may be "taken," in the words of Mr. Deakin, "as illustrative of the scope and character of the engineering ability of the ancient Sinhalese and of the present Irrigation Department" (*Ibid* p. 248).

(D)

Mr. Deakin's view, supported by the testimony of present British engineers in the island, that under the older Sinhalese *regime* 'not a dribble of water was allowed to run to waste in the sea,' would appear to be literally borne out by what is recorded in the Sinhalese Chronicle, *Mahawanso*, of the spirit which animated the irrigation policy of that renowned monarch Parakrama Bahu I, to whose gigantic and benevolent undertakings, we have already referred to. In chapter LXVIII. of the above work (*vide* Mudaliyar L. C. Wijesinha's edition pp. 147-150), we read of king Parakrama Bahu explaining to his ministers the prospects of agriculture under the then existing conditions of rainfall in his kingdom and the consequent need of utilising to the uttermost whatever water could be obtained for purposes of irrigation. Thus said the king:—"In the Kingdom that belongeth to me there are many paddy lands that are watered chiefly by the water from rain clouds. But the fields that depend on a perpetual supply of water from the rivers and tanks are very few in number. The land is studded thickly with numerous rocks and thick forests and great marshes. *In a country like unto this, not even the least quantity of water that is obtained by rain should be allowed to flow into the ocean without profiting man.* Therefore, save the mines of gems and gold and other precious things, the rest of the land should be turned into rice-fields." And the Chronicle goes on to narrate how he caused a huge dam to be thrown across "the river *Jajjara* that had been long in ruins and which had caused exceeding great trouble to kings in former times;" and how by means of a canal "of great breadth and strength, the depth whereof was equal to the height of several men holding their hands aloft," the king diverted the whole course of the said river which began to flow along the new channel "up to the country of *Ratta-Karadha*," where, as pointed out by Mr. Wijesinha in a footnote, "extensive remains of stupendous irrigation works are still to be seen." The chronicler next proceeds to record that the King "caused

the forest on both sides of the stream " (*i. e.*, the new channel or canal) " to be cut down," and " he formed fields of several thousand waggons of paddy seed in extent; and because this portion of the country was full of granaries filled with perpetual supply of paddy, they called it *Kottha-buddha*, which signifieth *the perpetual granary*" (*Ibid* pp. 147-149). The above is but one instance of the innumerable and gigantic irrigation works all narrated in detail in the *Mahawanso* and other Sinhalese chronicles whereby King Parakrama Bahu was able to harness and utilise the rainfall in his kingdom with the following result :—"Thus did this wise ruler make the revenue that was obtained from the new paddy fields alone to be greater than the revenue which had been derived from the old paddy fields in the kingdom; and when he had accomplished this he made the country so prosperous that the inhabitants thereof should never know the evils of famine" (*Ibid* p. 150).

SECTION^r THIRTY-THIRD

(A)

Mr. Deakin remarks in the work † from which we have so largely quoted that "the feature of the Sinhalese system of supply," in other words, the irrigation system of Ceylon, "is akin to that of Southern Madras and differs entirely from that of Bengal, since it relies very largely upon storage", *i. e.*, upon the system of storing water in tanks of huge dimensions and distributing the same by means of distributary channels or canals to the fields for purposes of cultivation. And there is also the clear evidence of inscriptions to satisfy us that it was the people of Southern India, the Tamils, who were greatly instrumental in perfecting, if not introducing, the system of irrigation as pursued by the Sinhalese people. Thus, we read in the last paragraph of the translated inscription on Rock no. 2 at Mihintale as given in Turnour's *Epitome of the History of Ceylon*, p. 90 :—"The services and dues from all the lands belonging to this *vihara* shall be regularly obtained According to the supply of water in the "lake,"* *the same shall be distributed to the vihara lands in the manner formerly regulated by the Tamils*" (*Ibid* p. 90). The date of the inscription, as shown by Turnour must have been the *Buddha-varsha* (Buddha-era) 805, or A. D. 262 (*Ibid* p. 79). ‡ Lastly, every student of the ancient and mediaeval religious, political and artistic history of the Sinhalese

† *Irrigated India*, p. 240.

* Or "huge artificial tank approaching the size of a lake from which canals were led off, as we have seen in previous articles of this series.

‡ Sir E. Tennent has fallen into an error when in his *Ceylon* vol 1, p. 431 footnote, he cites the authority of Turnour for his statement that the Mihintale inscription was recorded at B. C. 262.

people must know that there was frequent and intimate intercourse* between India, specially Southern India, and Ceylon ; and, therefore, on all the foregoing grounds the conclusion becomes irresistible that the South Indian *system of irrigation* or the system of distributary channels or canals led off from huge reservoirs of water called tanks or "lakes" (when they approach very large dimensions as in Ceylon and in parts of Southern India) found its way into the island and converted it into a huge granary. In order, therefore, that the reader may be in a position to realise the full significance of our previous statement that under the Sinhalese *regime*,—by means of the storage system supplemented by channel irrigation—*not a dribblet of water was allowed to run to waste in the sea*, it would be well if we could place before him evidence of exactly similar methods (followed by similar results) pursued in Southern India. With this view, we shall first reproduce the observations of Major-General F. C. Cotton, C. S. I., late R. E., contained in a recent publication of his (1901), † the fruits of a life-long experience obtained by him in his official capacity in the Madras Presidency :—"The storage of water has been from time immemorial well-understood in the South of India, where, as the Trigonometrical Map shows, every petty chief *did his utmost to prevent its loss* as it flowed through his territory by throwing a dam across it, thus forming reservoirs ranging in size from a horsepond to a lake many miles in circumference *to save his treasure of water for the Sea*. In no other country in the world has hydraulic engineering been so varied or as economically worked. The engineering of the oldest times in India is worth the most careful study. We have an example set up by some (Indian) engineers of former ages which is so to the point of what is wanted at the present day that I must quote it. Quite in the south of the peninsula there is a river, the Viga, if I remember right, *the water of which was so admirably utilised that only in exceptional years did a drop of it reach the sea*. The river was dammed up here and there, and the channels leading the water off for irrigation had tanks to store water for the prefecting of the crop after the freshes ended—

* *Vide* Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy's *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, chapter I., which gives a summary of the political history of Ceylon : *cf.* also the following from the same work, p. 253 :—"During the whole of the (post-Asokan) Period and the close of the mediaeval conditions, the relations between South India and Ceylon were similar to those obtaining in the Middle Ages between France and England ; continually fluctuating intimate intercourse, now friendly, now hostile ; migration of craftsmen among other prisoners, sometimes by importation." See also Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, chapter XVI ; also Tennent's *Ceylon*, vol I.

† *Vide* "A Letter and two other Papers on the water of the great Rivers of India," published by Messrs Rivingtons, London, 1901 ; pp. 10, 28.

which is exactly the principle on which the great rivers should be treated as far as possible."

(B)

It would appear further that the methods pursued in Ceylon and in Southern India under the older *regime* under the Hindus, with a view to give effect to the principle that "not even the least quantity of water that is obtained by rain should be allowed to flow into the ocean without profiting man,"† were almost identical. In a previous paragraph (p. 188, *ante*), we quoted Mr. Deakin's observations that in Ceylon almost all the irrigation works which came down from ancient times have been found on investigation to form *parts of large connected systems*, affecting large stretches of country and that almost the whole island with the exception of the central mountain districts was cultivated by this means (*vide* chapter on *Irrigation in Ceylon* in the Appendix to Deakin's *Irrigated India*, p. 242). The same methods were adopted in Southern India with similar objects namely, the utilisation to the utmost of the water obtained by rainfall; and so, for a description of the indigenous irrigation system of Ceylon, we can very well refer to the account of the indigenous methods pursued in Southern India. Thus, the following account of the system, as it obtained in Southern India and carried to perfection in the Tanjore and adjoining districts of the Madras Presidency under native *regime*, would do duty for a description of the elaborate system of hydraulic engineering by which almost the whole island of Ceylon was brought under cultivation under the Sinhalese *regime*. This account has been obtained from an Official Report by Lieut.-col. R. Baird Smith R. E., F. G. S., published under the authority of the Government of India (1856)*. It states,—“the first marked development of the native system, on which we have engrafted modern improvements is traceable to a period corresponding with the close of the *second century* of our own era, and to the reign of a certain Raja Veeranam, who judging from the number, and extent of the works attributed to him must have been a man of rare energy and enlightenment. . . . In the religious works of the period, several of which I had the pleasure of seeing,

† *Vide* p. 189 *ante*

* The above publication bears the following title—“The Cauvery, Kistnah, and Godavery—Being a Report on the Works constructed on these rivers for the irrigation of the provinces of Tanjore, Guntoor, Masulipatam, and Rajahmundry in the presidency of Madras—Published by order of the Most Noble the Governor-General of India—by R. Baird Smith, F. G. S. Lieut.-col., Bengal Engineers, Director, Ganges Canal Works, and Superintendent, Canals, North-West Provinces, —London, Smith, Elder & Co., 62 Cornhill (1856).

there are evidences of great constructive skill, immense labour and in some respects marked architectural taste; while, *in the works of irrigation, there is great boldness of design considerable knowledge of hydraulic principles, a massiveness of construction* so disproportioned to the necessities of the case as to indicate a very exaggerated idea of the forces dealt with, and, occasionally, *a neatness of finish* which it was pleasant to see" (*Ibid* pp. 3 and 4). After making these general observations Mr. Baird Smith, who is, as we have seen, an irrigation expert, proceeds to give a general outline of the indigenous system, which is reproduced below. We may, however, here parenthetically remark that Mr. Deakin in his chapter on *Irrigation in Ceylon*, from which we have already quoted, makes identically similar observations on the irrigational projects carried on under the native system, e.g., the "boldness of the designs and their massive executions, which are still the wonder of the modern engineer." †

"A general outline of the native system," says Mr. Baird Smith, "may be given in a few words. (a) Channels of supply * * were cut from the river bank and the water was led to the field by infinite numbers of smaller channels of distribution. (b) When the level of the river surface was too low for the supply of the channels, the construction of a permanent masonry or a temporary earthen dam was had recourse to and the water was thus raised to the requisite height. * * Not only was the main stream thus laid under contribution, but those minor channels diverging from it as it approached the sea were also taken possession of; and (c) hand in hand, so to speak, with this process of utilising the water in moderate floods, there advanced a system of embankment whereby the water in excessive floods were held under general control. * * (d) As subsidiary to the general plan of river irrigation, "tanks" were largely employed and were formed on such a scale as fairly to be denominated gigantic. The embankment of the Poonary Tank, in the Trichinopoly district, for example, was 30 miles in length; that of the Veeranum Tank, about 10; and numerous others of scarcely inferior dimensions are scattered over the face of the country. These great reservoirs were variously supplied. Some by channels cut directly from the Cauvery or its main branch, the Coleroon; * * others were dependent upon minor streams across whose valleys the embankments were thrown; while, others, again, were filled by the escape waters of "tanks" on high ground. All were provided with sluices for distributing the water to the fields and with escape-weirs for regulating the surface level of the water, and with such other works of detail as were necessary" (*Ibid* pp. 4, 5 and 6).

† *Vide* p. 186 ante; *vide* also similar observations made by Tennent in his *Ceylon*, vol I, quoted in section 28th of this series of articles, pp. 113-114 of the July number.

It would appear that the above-mentioned system of native irrigation resolves itself mainly into a system of "river-irrigation" and of "storage-irrigation"; and they were, as already explained, the two methods employed by the irrigation-engineers both of South India and of Ceylon under the native *regime*; the common object of both being by means of elaborate connections and distributaries "not to allow the least quantity of water that was obtained by rain to flow into the ocean without profiting man." A detailed examination of the system of Sinhalese irrigation has been forthcoming in a very recent work, *Ancient Ceylon* * from the pen of Mr. H. Parker, till very lately an official of the Irrigation Department of Ceylon whose services extended over 30 years from 1874—1904. A description of the general outline of the Sinhalese Irrigation system contained in that work and given below would show that we were in no way far from the truth, when in our description of the South Indian System (quoted in the last preceding paragraph from Baird Smith), we saw that it gave a fairly accurate idea of the irrigation system of Ceylon under the Sinhalese *regime*. Thus, with reference to the *system of River-Irrigation* Mr. Parker observes:—"Part of the water flowing down the rivers was turned into longer excavated channels which conveyed it to more distant lands, or to reservoirs, temporary dams or permanent masonry dams being constructed across the rivers below the off-takes of the channels, in order to divert into them a larger quantity of water than could be secured without such aid when the flow of the rivers began to diminish after the end of the seasonal rains of the two monsoons. This latter method of irrigation by means of channels cut from rivers is of the greatest antiquity, having been practised in the North-Western and Central India, and most probably also Southern India, from immemorial times" (*Ibid* p. 257). With reference to the *system of storage-irrigation*, properly so called, the same authority has the following:—"The water was impounded in reservoirs, from which it was gradually passed out either directly into the fields where it was wanted, or by means of excavated channels down which it flowed to them. . . . At an early date the Sinhalese people undertook the raising of great embankments, often some miles in length, across many suitable valleys, thus intercepting the flow of the streams, and storing up during the rainy seasons, in the reservoirs thus formed, immense sheets of water for the irrigation of large tracts of land lower down in the valleys, that were found to be suitable for the cultivation of rice, the only culture for which the water was utilised" (*Ibid* pp. 347, 349, 350). Mr. Parker describes in detail three huge river-dams (of stone work) belonging to

* Published by Messrs. Luzac and Co., London, 1909.

the pre-Christian centuries by means of which great reservoirs for purposes of storage-irrigation was formed (*Ibid* pp. 388, 390, 400, 410), and goes on to remark, "probably there are other works of this kind, of pre-Christian age ; but in the absence of bricks of the period of their formation there is no way of identifying them. It is certain that the number is small, since nearly all the river dams of Ceylon exhibit a later type of *masonry laid in lime mortar*" (*Ibid* p. 412). About the post-Christian Sinhalese reservoirs we gave brief accounts of the most important of them in some of the foregoing Parts of this series of articles.

(C)

Mr. Parker is inclined to believe that the reservoir or storage system *on a large scale* was not practised in the South of India, and that the South Indian origin of the Sinhalese storage system may well be doubted. He observes :—"The nature of the flat plains around the sites of the primitive capitals of Southern India could never have encouraged the construction of *reservoirs with high embankments, which in fact, are still non-existent on them*. All that could be attempted there in very early times in the way of making reservoirs would be the formation of *shallow village tanks*, with embankments from six to ten or twelve feet high, for retaining a supply of rain-water for bathing purposes and for the irrigation of the adjoining fields attached to each village" (*Ibid* pp. p. 349). And the conclusion to which he comes is that "it is possible that the Sinhalese acquired a knowledge of the art of reservoir construction in Southern India ; but in any case, there can be no doubt that the credit of its development and extension in the island is due to some of the first Sinhalese rulers and their responsible advisers" (*Ibid* p. 349).

In opposition to the above argument based on the assumption that although "small village tanks with embankments from 6 to 10 or 12 feet high" might exist in plenty, "reservoirs with huge embankments are in fact still non-existent," we have to say that as a matter of fact, it is not so. First of all, it is clear on the authority of that expert Irrigation Engineer, Lt.-Col. Baird Smith, R. E., from whose report, published by the Government of India, we have already quoted in a preceding paragraph that "as subsidiary to the general plan of river irrigation, tanks were largely employed *and were found on such a scale as fairly to be denominated gigantic*. The embankment of the Poonary Tank in the Trichinopoly district for example was 30 miles in length, that of the Veeranum Tank about 10, *and numerous others of scarcely inferior dimensions are scattered over the face of the country. These great reservoirs were variously supplied*" etc. etc.* Similarly

* For a fuller quotation from Baird Smith and the name of the publication, *vide* p. 192 ante of this number.

we read in Deakin's *Irrigated India* (p. 252) that "besides wells there are 60,000 tanks or reservoirs, in which the heavy rainbursts are preserved to be utilised in dry weather" and "*they are of all sizes according to the catchment* ; and he proceeds to remark that "a calculation has been in circulation for some years in which it is estimated that if the embankments (of the reservoirs) within the Madras Presidency were added together they would make a wall of earth, six feet high, one and a half times round the globe." That the *reservoir or the storage system* of Southern India boasts of a high antiquity would appear from the fact that the supreme importance of storage-irrigation is to be found sung in a song addressed to a Tamil hero-king, Pandiya Nedum Celiyan by name, a contemporary of the Chola king, Karikala of the 1st or 2nd century A. D.* We reproduce a *portion of the song* (in translation) from the pages of that well-known organ of the Tamilian Archaeological Society of Southern India,—*The Tamilian Antiquary*, (No. 6)†.

"Descendant of the Mighty Ones,

* * * * *

"Dost thou desire the wealth of all this world

"And of the worlds beyond :

"Or wish to overcome all Kings

"And hold them 'neath thy sway ;

"Or seek for glory and good renown ?

"Then Mighty Ruler, listen to my song,

"Who give to frames of men the food

"They need, these give them life ;—

"For food sustains man's mortal frame.

"But food is earth with water blent :

"So those who join the water to the earth

"Build up the body, and supply its life.

"Men in less happy lands sow seed, and watch to skies for rain,

"But this can ne'er supply the wants of kingdom and of king.

"Therefore, O Celiyan, great in war, despise this not ;

"**Increase the reservoirs, for water made**

"**Who bind the water, and supply to fields**

"**Their measured flow, these bind**

"**The earth to them. The fame of others passes swift away.**

* Second century A. D., according to Mr. V. Smith, *Early History of India*, 2nd edn. p. 416. ; but 1st century A. D., according to Mr. V. Kanakasabhai, the author of the well-known work *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, published by Messrs. Higginbotham & Co. of Madras (1904), p. 65.

† *Vide* the portion "The 400 Lyrics : Pura Nanuru" Part II of that number p. 48.

Having said so far, we feel with Mr. Parker that the credit of the development and existence of the storage system of irrigation on a really gigantic scale in the island of Ceylon must rest with the Sinhalese. For, as Mr. Deakin observes in his *Irrigated India*, "irrigation had been practised in Ceylon for many hundreds of years upon a scale that, considering the size of the island and the difficulties which it presents, is truly surprising" (*Ibid* p. 230); or, as Sir James Emerson Tennent, LL.D., observes in the second volume (p. 433) of his work on *Ceylon*, "no similar construction formed by any race whether ancient or modern exceed in colossal magnitude the stupendous tanks of Ceylon."

It is clear from the foregoing rather lengthy review of one aspect of the secular civilisation of the ancient Sinhalese people that however much moderns may have advanced on what are called modern lines, the ancient religious *regime*, alike in India and Ceylon, showed results and achievements of a quite dazzling character for which there has been hardly any parallel in a later and what is known as a more progressive age.

PROGRESS OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN NATIVE INDIAN STATES—PART IV

(Continued from pp. 175-178 of October 1910 number of this journal)

TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN TRAVANCORE STATE

VI. Indigenous Art Manufactures and Industrial Training

Among the old indigenous art-industries of the Travancore State the more important are ivory-carving, carpet-weaving, embroidery work, pottery and porcelain manufacture. These time-honoured art-industries of Travancore, as of other parts of India, have, however, considerably decayed, but have not wholly died out. Efforts have been made to resuscitate some of these, although without any real success. Thus, about 20 years back an **INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL OF ARTS** was started at Trivandrum with a view to impart instruction in industrial arts and allied subjects,—e.g., silversmith's work, carving, pottery and porcelain manufacture, pottery-painting, and carpet-weaving (and also in drawing, painting, designing, moulding, casting, modelling, carpentry, etc.) The Government of Travancore has been very liberal in financing this school, which is maintained at an average annual cost of Rs. 17,000. Every facility is given to the students receiving training at this school. They are to pay only a nominal fee of about $2\frac{1}{4}$ as (4 chs. in the Travancore coin), and a number of scholarships are awarded to deserving students receiving instruction at the school. But with all the facilities given, the public do not seem to have been satisfied with the work of the school, nor do they seem to have any faith in its eventual success. For, although over 200 students have hitherto passed out of this school with the Madras

Government Technical Examination Certificates, most of them have sought employment as draftsmen, etc, under the Public Works Department, or as teachers in a number of schools in the Presidency of Madras; and so very little has been done by them towards the resuscitation of the declining *art-industries* of the State. Efforts have, however, been made from time to time to start a quasi-official organisation with a view to collect a stock of works of art and to render financial help to skilled craftsmen; but it does not appear that much practical good has resulted from such efforts. The reason that Travancore has failed in her efforts to revive the decaying art-industries may not be far to seek. Firstly, the children of craftsmen in Travancore, who mostly belong to the Sudra and other low or the depressed classes, do not receive the benefits of a general education to improve their general intelligence in any way comparable to that received by the higher Hindu castes. Secondly, the children of craftsmen are not given opportunities of training to improve their inherited aptitudes and capacities. The result of all this is that they find themselves very much handicapped when they are called upon under the stress to manufacture articles of taste to suit modern requirements. And lastly, by reason of their deficiency in commercial training these craftsmen are unable to seek out profitable markets for such indigenous wares as they have learnt to produce through hereditary skill and training.

The only native art-industry that has before it any prospects of commercial success is the embroidery work industry. The lace-making industry is a modern industry of Travancore. By way of helping these industries five or more industrial schools have been started in Travancore where embroidery work and lace-making are being successfully taught. The chief of these schools is the *Infant Jesus Mixed Technical School for Girls*, Mulagumudu. The remaining other schools teaching these subjects are the St. Joseph's Convent School, Quilon; the London Missionary Society's Embroidery and Lace-making School, Attungal; the Technical School, Maniankulam near Paravur; and St. Joseph's European Technical Institution, Allepy. Students, who come mostly from the poorer sections of the people, belong to the fair sex, the work of lace-making and embroidery work being naturally suited to them. During the last decade no less than 800 girls have passed out of these schools. These trained girls in their turn are able to teach the industry to others in their village homes, so that the total number of trained workers may now roughly be estimated at about 2,000. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the articles manufactured by these trained workers find a market in several parts of Asia, Australia, South Africa, and the United Kingdom through agencies, which, it is suspected, are mostly foreign. Thus, over Rs. 50,000 worth of lace is exported every year to England from one district of Travancore, the Quilon Taluk. The Travancore Government has a grateful appreciation of the work which is being done by the schools teaching lace-making and embroidery work, and, by way of recognition and encouragement, is not slow to help these useful institutions with grants-in-aid which are not only sufficient but in some cases even alluring. It is accordingly believed that the industries of lace-making and embroidery work are likely to prove very profitable industries for the cottage homes of Travancore, if, of course, they are directed and controlled by the children of the soil.—(To be concluded).

PART II: TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

CRYING NEED FOR A MOVEMENT IN FAVOUR OF THE ARTIZAN CLASSES : STRUGGLE BETWEEN COTTAGE AND MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES IN INDIA—II

(Continued from pp. 37-40 of Part II of the October number).

IV

In the last preceding number we presented in some detail the views of Professor Lees Smith† (of the London School of Economics), M.P., who had been recently brought out to India by the Government of Bombay to lecture on Indian Economics, and also of Major J. B. Keith as embodied in his recent article on *Indian Political Economy* in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* (July, 1910), on the subject of the struggle that is going on in India between the old Indian cottage industries conducted by hand-power, and the more recent manufacturing (factory) industries conducted by machine power and backed by the powerful aids of modern commercial Finance. We have already seen that both the writers are of opinion that the Indian cottage industries possessed and still possess a degree of native vitality drawn from circumstances which are to some extent indigenous and cannot therefore be easily displaced unless and until the whole Indian character is metamorphosed or revolutionised. A somewhat similar opinion is also shared by Mr. Alfred Chatterton, the well-known industrial expert, who was till lately in the service of the Government. In the April and July, 1910 issues of **Science and Progress**, where that gentleman discusses the subject of "The Indian Industrial Problem" in great detail, he expresses the view that in considering the question of a wholesale introduction of methods of Western Industrialism it is always necessary to remember that the conditions of Indian Social Life, the product of India's past evolution have to be reckoned with, and he inclines to the view that India must pursue a middle path, neither adopting wholesale modern western commercialism by replacing the workman in India by the machine, as it has been done in the West; nor leaving the Indian artizan wholly to himself, to his certain and "ultimate discomfiture." "*India*," in truth, declares this authority "offers a problem to the civilised world;" for here, in his opinion, we may make "a great attempt to raise the worker" and so rear up an Indian industrial system more in consonance with India's character and traditions, and yet competent enough in most matters (e.g., "in all the petty industries that concern the simple life of the people" and which constitute "the bulk of the industrial work of India") to cope with the aggressive industrialism of the West. That appears to us to be the sum and substance of his article in **Science and Progress** for April, 1910; and the position which he assigns to educated India is to help in the growth of this Indian system by "leading the (indigenous) industrial groups and hands

† *Vide* Professor Lees Smith's *India and the Tariff Problem* (pp. 23-24), and his *Studies in Indian Economics*.

which it should be a primary duty to organise." Mr. Chatterton, in fact, considers it possible with the help of educated agency so to devise ways and means as to revive and strengthen the artizan classes ; for, he declares, "there is no doubt that the various castes and groups of artizans in India *maintain themselves against the present competition of European industrialism* and that although they may have suffered severely, they have not succumbed equally, and it is certain that much could be done to render their work more effective." "Hitherto," thinks Mr. Chatterton, "the intellectual classes of the country have held almost entirely aloof from the rest of the people. They have left the working classes to face the growing difficulties of their position, careless of everything outside the range of their own immediate interests. Now they are forced by internal competition to take a broader outlook and it is necessary that *means should be devised whereby they may be associated with the artizans and workers of the country to their mutual advantage.*"

V

(A)

In Mr. Chatterton's opinion the attention and energies of educated India should be "*concentrated on the decaying indigenous industries : hand-weaving, working in metals, tanning and leather-manufactures,—on all the petty industries which supply the simple needs of the people. Enterprise on a grand scale can be left to grow in the manner it has done during the last half-century and at present need not concern us.*" And Mr. Chatterton makes no concealment of the reason why in his opinion such concentration of effort on behalf of the Indian cottage industries has become urgently necessary. It is that little has been done to help and set up the "industrious Indian artizan" ; while much that has been otherwise of general utility has only aggravated the difficulties of his position. "That he has survived so long," Mr. Chatterton openly avows, "may be taken as evidence of the possession of certain elements of vitality and as affording justification for the hope that a permanent place may be found for him in the industrial future of India." Mr. Chatterton does not mince matters when he declares that "roads, railways, telegraphs, the construction of the Suez Canal, every movement in the means of transport, both by sea and land, *has contributed to the difficulties and in many cases, to the ultimate discomfiture of the Indian artizan.* The attention of Government has been almost entirely directed to the opening up of the land, to the provision of irrigation ; assistance has in more than one case been given directly to the efforts of English manufacturers to exploit Indian markets, *whilst the industrious artizan has been left severely alone to combat as best as he can the growing difficulties of his position.*" The result of all this is seen in "a struggle for existence due to the increasing pressure of the population on the soil" and other causes ; and in the further fact that "the marked rise in the price of food grains within the last four years has been pressing severely on the landless labourers in the villages and *upon the artizans and workers in the towns.*" And points out Mr. Chatterton that "the old order of things is changing and India

is being steadily drawn into the stream along which the nations of Europe and America are being *hurried to a by no means clearly discerned destination.*"

(B)

Mr. Chatterton's point of view is that both in the interests of India and of the world at large, and in consonance also with her character and traditions of life, it is necessary to stem the tide and prevent "the monstrous growths produced by the abnormal development of the mechanical arts" by "*a great attempt to raise the Indian worker,*" and "pitting his skill, ingenuity against such growths." He does not regard it as in any way desirable that India should be drawn into the whirlpool of western industrialism for reasons given below; but, on the other hand, he is strongly of opinion that India "where western industrialism has not yet taken root,"—that India, at any rate, "which has not yet accepted the factory system nor will do so willingly," and "where the conditions are favourable" should be a proper field "for a great attempt to raise the worker," "to develop the function of the man rather than the power of the machine, to evolve a system the object of which should be to employ human labour to the greatest extent possible and in the way most advantageous to the individual man." Mr. Chatterton sums up very pithily the situation as it exists in the West by saying that "the whole trend of modern progress has been to replace the man by the machine, to replace the individual by the factory, and the isolated factory by the organised trust and human ingenuity is ever exercised in extending the scale of operations." That system has been introduced into India and is being sought to be developed, but Mr. Chatterton is not quite sure whether the system ought to be so developed. Says he,—"*We have introduced the system into India but it has not yet taken root. We may either regard it as inevitable that it should ultimately be established; or, we may adopt an alternative and apply the resources of science, engineering and commercial experience to a great attempt to raise the worker and pit his skill, ingenuity and adaptability against the monstrous growths produced by the abnormal development of the mechanical arts. The success of the (modern industrial) system has been remarkable; but it has been purchased somewhat expensively. It is possible that we might now with advantage turn our attention to developing the function of the man rather than the power of the machine, to evolving a system the object of which should be to employ human labour to the greatest extent possible and in the way most advantageous to the individual man.*" Mr. Chatterton does not forget that there are considerable difficulties in the way of making this "*great attempt to raise the Indian worker*" in his struggle with the machine; he does not forget that India is no longer an isolated country, out of all touch with the external world and free from the impact of all aggressive influences. On the contrary, he declares in so many words that "*it would be foolish to imagine that as India now stands in relation to the British Empire and to the rest of the world, it could disregard the external influences to which it must always be subjected.*" But still making due allow-

ance for this undeniable factor in the Indian situation, Mr. Chatterton is of opinion that "there is no reason why it (India) should not *strive to move forward to a goal more in harmony with its own traditions than is that presented by Western Civilisation.*" We cannot for want of space in this number follow more in detail the reasons and arguments by which the writer supports the above position ;—we must reserve a proper consideration of them for the next, the December issue of this Magazine. But it is clear that in Mr. Chatterton's view, if "the industrious Indian artizan be not left severely alone to combat as best as he can the growing difficulties of his position," but that, on the contrary, "a great attempt be made to raise the worker," there is great "hope that a permanent place may be found for him in the industrial future of India," especially when we consider that notwithstanding the great difficulties which surround his position, "he has survived so long, a circumstance which may be taken as evidence of the possession of certain elements of vitality and as affording justification for the hope." This view, therefore, lends no support to the theory held at present by many amongst us that India is destined ultimately, whether she wills it or no, to revolutionise herself under the impact of forces of western industrialism, in every department of Indian life. Mr. Chatterton, in fact, has no sort of sympathy with this theory, which may, for want of a better name, be styled the *transition theory* and which has been thus formulated by an Indian writer in a recent number of an English periodical.* "We are now in India passing through the period of transition in industrial methods that took place in Europe between 1780 and 1830. The industrial revolution in England caused untold misery to individual workers. With the experience of Europe to guide us, our object should be to minimise individual suffering as far as possible, and gradually to fit the hand-workers of India for the changes that must eventually come."† We will explain Mr. Chatterton's views more in detail in the next number of this journal.

* Mr. Atul Chandra Chattterjee, B. A., I. C. S.—*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January 1910, p. 36.

† Notwithstanding the above statement, it does not appear that the writer, Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, B. A., of the Indian Civil Service, holds very firmly the above view, namely, that the future holds in store for the Indian a revolutionised industrial India, revolutionised, that is, along the lines of the West. Following Mr. Chatterton, we may say in brief that those lines consist in the *simultaneous double process* of replacing the worker by the machine and of promoting huge industrial organisations by means of organised Finance and organised Management in such manner that the smaller isolated factory is swallowed up by a larger and more organised combination, and this again by a still larger and more organised one (technically known as a *trust*) and so on and on, still extending indefinitely the scale of operations. It does not appear that Mr. A. C. Chatterjee has this picture of modern western industrialism in his mind when he speaks of the future development of industrial India along western lines, although his language which we have quoted above in the body of this article, gives rise to a reasonable suspicion that he has it in his mind. That he does not contemplate the full meaning of his words would appear from the following. Speaking with reference to the controversy as to the prospects of the hand-weaving industry in India, he does not appear to agree with those that hold that there are no prospects of its survival in its competition with the power-loom industry. For, in his opinion, "there is much greater prospect of the hand industry being successful when organised in the form of small factories managed by trained business men than when the individual weaver carries on all his work of buying and selling and manufacture unaided, without co-operation or division of labour." This, evidently, is far from saying that the Indian cottage industries (even if properly fostered) have no chances of survival in the contest with the power-industries of the West; and that our only duty is to "fit the hand-workers of India for the changes that must eventually come" *after the period of transition has been passed.*

PART III

SECTION I: INDIAN EDUCATIONAL AND ALLIED MOVEMENTS MOVEMENT FOR EDUCATION OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES AND OF THE MASSES GENERALLY—IX.

(Continued from pp. 94-98 of the October, 1910 number.)

SUPERIOR WORLDLY CONDITION OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES OF EAST BENGAL: A CONTRAST WITH THE CONDITION OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

IV

With their demands unsatisfied, the Namasudras have had recourse to even reactionary or revolutionary measures to improve their social status. They now refuse to take food at the house of the Vaidyas, the Kayasthas and other high caste Hindus excepting the Brahmans whom they still regard as superiors. In some places the Namasudras have gone so far as to cease cultivating lands of the high caste Hindus as *barga* tenants, and have formed a combination not to render any service to the higher castes. Some Christian missionaries have taken advantage of this conflict to rouse the Namasudras against the higher Hindu castes, and thus to prepare the ground for a spread of their doctrines, and their endeavours have not been entirely fruitless. But the vast majority of the Namasudras still cling to Hindu ideals of social life and to the Hindu religion and regard them as their precious heritage. As an active weapon, therefore, they have adopted the policy of self-help and self-reliance. The educated among the Namasudras have now understood the strength of a just claim pressed hard and also the value of education. The Namasudras are, therefore, very eager to give education to their sons. Formerly, a Mandal, or an influential and well-to-do Namasudra, used to send the eldest son only to the *Pathasala* or the village school in order that his son might acquire a knowledge of the three R's, but now-a-days he tries to educate all his children, and, if possible, sends one or two boys of the family to receive English education at an Entrance School. Among them will now be found a few Graduates and Intermediate and Entrance passed students, following in many cases the professions of pleaders and medical practitioners. Some of the educated Namasudras are doing much practical good work for the education of the children of their own community. We learn that a Namasudra Boarding Institution has been in existence for a number of years at 5, Zuriff's Lane, Calcutta, under the superintendence of an able Namasudra physician, Dr. Vanamali Das. This institution is no doubt a boon to Namasudra students from the mofussil who come to read in the Calcutta schools and colleges. The Namasudras run a vernacular weekly organ of their own called the *Namasudra* (নামসুদ্রা) started more than a year ago at Jhalakati which is an important trade centre in East Bengal, and situated in the district of Backer-

gungu. There is a Bengali monthly entitled the *Namasudra-Suhrid* (নামসূদ্রসুহৃদ) published from the district town of Faridpur, and conducted by two Namasudra pleaders of the Faridpur bar. These two Namasudra organs have been instrumental in creating a public opinion among the Namasudras and have succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of the other communities in their efforts at social elevation.

We have already referred to the increasing interest the educated high caste Hindus have for some time past been taking in the amelioration of the condition of the Namasudras and we gave in some of our previous issues detailed accounts of the active steps that have been taken by the educated high caste Hindus to impart education to the depressed classes of East Bengal. We would close this short account of the Namasudra community by citing one or two more facts as to how they are being helped. It is a fact that some of our Hindu Zemindars have taken to starting schools for the benefit of the Namasudra population within their respective zemindaries.

At Orakandi in the district of Faridpur near the boundary line of the districts of Jessore and Faridpur there are two graduates one a B. A., and the other, an M. A., who are doing much valuable work by way of providing education up to the Matriculation standard at the Orakandi Entrance School for the Namasudra students. The conductors of the Jhalakati National School affiliated to the National Council of Education, Bengal, also are very sympathetic to the Namasudras and a large number of the Namasudra students have been receiving education there. The Namasudras will no doubt feel grateful for the sympathy thus shown towards them by at least some members of the higher castes, and it is fair to hope that the friendly feelings thus generated will gradually persuade the leaders of the Hindu Society in Eastern Bengal to give a sympathetic hearing to the complaints of this section of our fellow-countrymen.

(Concluded)

MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND IN FAVOUR OF INDIAN INDIGENOUS ART: THE FORMATION OF THE INDIA SOCIETY, LONDON.

I

It may be known to our readers that a movement in favour of Indian Art, and specially Indian Fine Art, is going on, both in this country and in England, supported by many distinguished artists, art-critics, and scholars. The names of Mr. E. B. Havell, Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, and a few other scholars and cultured men, all of whom are working for the revival of a living indigenous art in India, are inseparable from this movement; and, as a result of their efforts, it is coming to be recognised that India, unlike Europe, has still a living, traditional, and national art, intimately bound up with the social and religious life of the people.

Up till very recently the great majority of artists and art students of the West have been totally ignorant of the finest achievements of Indian

sculptors and painters ; and, except for a very small body of scholars, the æsthetic merits of Indian poetry, drama, and music, are even now almost unrecognised by Europeans. There is not a single Museum, either in Great Britain, or in any part of the world, in which Indian art can be properly appreciated and understood. The British Museum, boasting only of a small collection, is unconcerned with Indian Art or of the high spiritual ideals which it embodies : while the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, hardly recognises Indian Art, except in its commercial and industrial aspects. Such, indeed, is the indifference of English museum authorities to Indian Art in general, that an important collection of Mediæval Indian Paintings, formerly belonging to Colonel Hanna, and kept in the New Castle Art Gallery, has been suffered to be transferred by sale to the American city of Washington, where it now forms one of the best artistic treasures of that city. The average Englishman, as a consequence, bases his notions on Indian Art, on such typical collections as that of the Indian Institute at Oxford, and such standard works on Indian mythology as Moor's *Indian Pantheon* which give one the impression that all Indian sculpture is barbarous, obscene, or trivial, and that painting as a fine art is almost unknown in India. This is also the impression the majority of Anglo-Indians carry with them in Europe.

II

But if Indian Art has secured so little attention from the British public, and if it is so little represented in the museums and collections of Great Britain, the other countries of Europe have adopted a more enlightened attitude in this matter. France in her collections at the Institute of France and the National Library, Paris, shows, a more intelligent and artistic appreciation of Indian æsthetic culture than Great Britain which seems quite content to leave the discoveries of Indian fine art to France, or Germany or to American millionaires. For many years past learned societies in the former country, with liberal aid from Government, have sent out expeditions for providing the National Museums of that country with examples and reproductions of ancient Indian sculpture, painting and architectural art in her possessions in the Far East. We find also in Germany, many distinguished *savants* keenly exploiting the artistic treasures of the East with the active support and personal interest of the German Emperor,—and among important private collections in Europe must be mentioned that contained in the Ethnographic Museum at Berlin. This last-mentioned place is now the only centre where the early schools of Asiatic Painting, from which modern Chinese and Japanese paintings were derived can be studied. The Government of that country also has interested itself in the same subject, and has lately sanctioned a scheme for a great Asiatic Art Museum in Berlin.* Again, in Holland,

* As a most recent illustration, we may note that the German Government has just deputed Dr. Schorman, Director of Oriental Languages in the University of Munich, to make a tour of India and make collections of ancient idols, bronze, and copper articles, images, and specimens of Hindu architecture, for the National Museum at Munich.

at Haarlem and Leyden one can gather some idea of the wonderful sculpture wrought by Indian artists in Java ; for, the modern world has lighted upon the discovery, on the strength of the Javanese chronicles, that about 603 A. D., Indian colonists from Gujarat brought Indian Art into Java, and at Borobuder (Java) Indian sculpture achieved its greatest triumphs. Thus, as we see, the only collections of Indian Fine Art, that at present exist, all belong to the continental countries of Europe. But, as we have said, even these are of a scattered and sectional character, and there is as yet no central representative collection anywhere in Europe, nay, in the world, which will give to an art-student a tolerably adequate conception of the masterpieces of Indian Painting and Sculpture, or of those higher ideals towards which the whole Art of Asia has been for ever striving.

III.

But, as we have noticed in the opening paragraph, the tide seems to be turning, even in England. A number of artists, critics, and cultured men of that country have convinced themselves that the present British attitude of indifference and ignorance in the matter of Indian art and æsthetic culture cannot be defended by any sound process of reasoning. These prominent men do believe that in Indian Art, especially in Sculpture, and in Painting, Indian Literature and Music, there is a vast unexplored field, the investigation of which cannot fail to benefit all artistic culture, both in Great Britain and India and bring about a better understanding of Indian ideals and aspirations. In order to give effect to their belief, this group of earnest men have formed themselves into a new organisation called the India Society with the intention of promoting the study and appreciation of Indian culture in all its æsthetic aspects. Among the ladies and gentlemen who are taking active interest in the Society, we notice the names of such distinguished artists, art-critics, scholars and cultured persons as Mr. and Mrs. E. B. Havell, Mr. Walter Crane, Mr. W. Rothenstein, Mr. G. Clanesn, R. A., Mr. Roger Fry, Mr. T. W. Arnold, Mrs. Leighton Cleather, Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, Dr. and Mrs. Herringham, Count Plunkett, Mr. T. W. Rolleston, Mr. Reynolds Stephens, Mr. Emery Walker, Mr. W. R. Colton, A. R. A., Sir George Frampton, R. A., Mr. Cranmer Byng, Professor W. R. Lethaby, Dr. Paira Mall, Sir Theodore Morrison, Mr. W. H. Nevinsón, and Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe. Similar Societies relating to China and Japan have been in existence for some years, but none of those in Great Britain relating to India have definitely brought these objects within the scope of their interest and work.

One of the first endeavours of the India Society will be to persuade the authorities of the British national museums to obtain an adequate representation of Indian Art, and to assist them with information. The Society will also by means of lectures and discussions, exhibitions, concerts and dramatic performances endeavour to make Indian æsthetic culture in all its aspects better known and appreciated in Europe. It proposes to publish, from time to time, illustrations of the best examples of Indian Sculpture and Painting,

both ancient and modern, which will be issued free or at low prices to subscribing members of the Society. It has already been arranged by Dr. Coomaraswamy's permission, that two fine collotypes of Ceylon sculpture from the 'Portfolio of Indian Art', which he is about to publish, shall be given to each subscribing member in the present year. The next aim of the Society will be to investigate, keep alive, and encourage the living historic traditions of Indian culture, which are maintained in great strength throughout the greater part of India, though under depressing conditions. The Society holds it to be desirable that methods of education in India totally foreign to the ideals and principles of Indian æsthetics shall be superseded by a more artistic and rational policy. The Society will join hands with the *Indian Society of Oriental Art* in Calcutta, a similar organisation for the revival of indigenous Indian Art, which has done excellent service in the last few years to this end by means of exhibitions etc.

IV.

The India Society has already begun work under the guidance of an executive committee consisting of Mr. T. W. Arnold, Mrs. Leighton Cleather, Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, Mr. Walter Crane, Mr. E. B. Havell, Mrs. Herringham, Dr. Paira Mall, Mr. T. W. Rolleston and Mr. W. Rothenstein. The yearly subscription has been fixed at one guinea, or twelve guineas for a life membership. Under the able guidance of such a distinguished committee there can be no doubt that the Society will succeed in carrying out the objects it has set before itself. One method by which the India Society would seek to popularise this movement in favour of Indian Art may be gathered from the following summary of the proceedings of the first meeting of the Society held on the 15th June, 1910 in the hall of Clifford's Inn: "Mr. William Rothenstein gave an eloquent opening address upon the need of investigating and making known the best original examples of artistic work in the country to whose thought and art the great majority of English people have remained entirely indifferent. As evidence of the art's value, Mrs. Herringham showed and explained some of the excellent copies she has lately made of frescoes in the rock temples of Ajanta. That period of Indian Art ended about the seventh century A.D., and between that date and the fifteenth century the remains are small, though the vital development continued. Dr. Coomaraswamy took up the story there, displaying on a screen his photographs of portfolio pictures and a few book illustrations, some of purely Hindu origin, some touched by Central Asian influence under the Moguls. Among the very remarkable portraits that have been thus preserved he showed what he believed to be an actual and living representation of *Tamurlaïn*, probably painted in Bokhara. The Society proposes to publish a volume of these plates, illustrating the history of Indian Art."

We propose from time to time to review the work of the Society.

SECTION II : STUDENTS' COLUMN

THE PLACE OF THE HARMONIUM IN OUR HOMES

My readers will observe that I do not speak of the place of the harmonium in our music. For being as it is one of the most imperfect of musical instruments, it can have no proper place in our music. It will be admitted even by laymen that the harmonium cannot respond to all the subtle notes of Indian music. But though every one is aware of its shortcomings, yet it is hard to find a musical party or concert among us to-day without this 'crying box'. It would be no exaggeration to say that the harmonium has almost come to be regarded as a family-god in Hindu homes. In fact, I have actually seen the harmonium being played at the time of *arati* before the family gods, and no one apparently felt what a sacrilege it was !

It is almost a rule with us now-a-days that no Indian fashionable home should be without a harmonium, and we fondly believe that in that way we are but imitating the civilisation of Europe. But, on the other hand, it is a fact that no up-to-date European homes allow a harmonium within their precincts. Thus, what we prize as fashionable and correct according to European standards, the Europeans themselves reject as vulgar and stupid. And this is true not only of the harmonium, but also of many other of our fashionable articles, dress, furniture, etc. We boast of our 'furnished' rooms and invite to our drawing-rooms the 'civilised' people of the West. They laugh in their sleeves at this exhibition of our bad taste, when we fondly think they must be mightily pleased with our clever assimilation of European taste and manners.

Gramophones also are rapidly becoming the fashion of the day. It is not mere zeal for 'Swadeshi' that provokes me to raise my voice against the use of harmoniums and gramophones in Indian homes. What gives me the greatest concern is that, as things are tending, the harmonium is going to displace our most perfect musical instruments, and the gramophone, our musicians. The result will be that India in particular, and consequently the larger world of humanity, will be poorer so far as genuine music, *i. e.*, music considered as a source of high and liberal culture, is concerned. •

I am at a loss to understand how people can really enjoy good vocal music when it is accompanied by the mechanical notes of the harmonium.

It is a good help to bad singers who manage with its aid to get their voices drowned ; but it is always a disadvantage to a good singer. I have never been able to enjoy the music of a good singer when accompanied by the harmonium. Yet its use is increasing on all sides, and even the recent growth of the 'Swadeshi' spirit has in no way checked its importation. Then, as to the 'voice-of-the-living-dead' that speaks to us through the funnel of a gramophone, it appears to be a sacrilege to music and to the singer whose voice is stuffed in the records. Yet there are people who pretend to regard

the entertainment afforded by the discordant croaking of this machine as fairly adequate substitute for the living music of a good singer.

What does all this mean? It means, on the one hand, the displacement of our finest musical instruments from their true place in our home and social life, to be driven for shelter to museums and curiosity-shops; and, on the other hand, it means the final disappearance of our living musicians* who are still keeping up the high traditions of Indian culture in the midst of adverse surroundings. It means the establishment of machinery to the exclusion of man. This may, indeed, be the ideal towards which the modern West and westernised India are striving to march. But to all seekers of true culture and of the higher life, this rapid and indiscriminate displacement of man by machinery is full of the deepest apprehension for human civilisation.

MUKANDI LAL

EDITORIAL COMMENT ON THE ABOVE

The point raised in the above note contributed by one of our student correspondents is of very great importance, and deserves the careful consideration of every Indian who cares for the preservation and growth of Indian national life and culture. In order to enable the reader to better realize the importance of the point at issue we desire just to draw his attention to one or two leading points connected with the subject. †

* The reader will do well to note the following observations of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy on this particular matter—*Essays in National Idealism* (pp. 204, 205, 206). "Which is to be desired in a community, the possession of musicians, or of machines (like the gramophone) which can amuse us? Do you desire men or things? Do you really think that the most perfect machine can take the place of a living singer or player. The performance of a musician is never exactly repeated—on each occasion he adapts himself insensibly to the different conditions, and finds also in himself new expression through the old form. The most perfect music is that of the human voice. The most perfect instruments are those stringed instruments where the musician's hand is always in contact with the string producing the sound, *so that every shade of his feeling can be reflected in it*. Musical instruments such as a *vina*, *sitar* or *sarangi* have each their own individuality, they possess an individual temperament which the artist must understand and with which he can co-operate. The more such an instrument is played on, the richer it becomes in association and the more it will be valued by the musician.

"The use of the harmonium is only a degree less vicious than that of the gramophone. Easy to learn, it degrades popular tastes almost as effectually as *the gramophone displaces the trained musician* and destroys the true character of Indian music, and the voice-quality even of the trained musician who makes use of it. These two instruments, if care be not taken, will in a few years more complete the vulgarisation of Indian music."—*Editor, Dawn*.

† Mainly adapted from the writings of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, D. Sc., the distinguished apostle of Indian culture, especially of Indian æsthetic culture.

The first point that we have to keep in mind in considering this question is that Indian music, like Indian art and literature and philosophy, is an essential expression of Indian culture and civilisation. The founders of Indian national culture fully realised that music and art are not amusements invented by idle men to pass away the time of other idlers, they are expansions of personality, essential to true civilisation, expressions of the human spirit, confirming the sincere conviction that man does not live by bread alone.

It is impossible for one not already familiar with Indian life to realise in what countless ways music has here been bound up with the national culture. It is the resource of India in joy or sorrow. It is a symbol of the immanence of God. "Thou art present even as music in the *Vina*," says a Tamil poet. It is the most universal expression of emotion, religious, amorous or martial and as such belongs to every part of life. It is essential to every festivity, and inseparably connected with all religious ceremonies. The flute of Krishna, the *Vina* of Saraswati, the dance of Siva, the Gayatri as cosmic chant or music of the spheres, the hymns of passionate adoration of the Southern Saivite, all these belong to the association of music and religion.

Of dramatic music there is no lack. Certain classical dramas, Rama Charitam, Arichandra (Haris Chandra), and the like are known to the whole people, lettered or illiterate, and appeal equally to both. The South Indian drama is of much importance in the life of the people, just as miracle and mystery plays were in the life of mediæval Europe.

Song is also intimately connected with agriculture and the crafts, and the half religious character of many of these songs is very noteworthy. Among these is included all music serving to lighten heavy labour, such as the songs of husbandmen, carters and boatmen, songs embodying technical *recipes* and serving as craft mnemonics, songs of invocation of craft or agricultural divinities, or expressing a sacramental conception of a craft, and religious songs,—such as used to be sung at 'spinning bees' in Ceylon before the village weaver's market was "successfully contested" by the products of the wage-slaves of English factory towns. In all these songs, music and words are inseparable.

The greater part of Eastern literature, popular or otherwise, is written in verse, and verse implies song. Men and women may be illiterate, but when they can recite classical poetry for hours—in language differing at least as much, and in the same way from that in every day use, as does the language of the Psalms or of Chaucer from the daily speech of an Englishman—then we can hardly deny them "education."

Thus, we realise the part that music plays in Indian life, how far more inseparably bound up it is with poetry than is the case in the modern West; how it enters equally into the daily life of king and peasant, how it is felt to be the natural expression of all deep emotion, and finally how the neglect or decay of Indian music is, as in the case of other arts, inseparably associated with a loss of stability in the economic structure of society. But Indian music deserves our attention and regard not merely as an integral part of Indian life and culture, but also on account of its high technical merit and the variety and perfection of the instruments it has evolved for itself.

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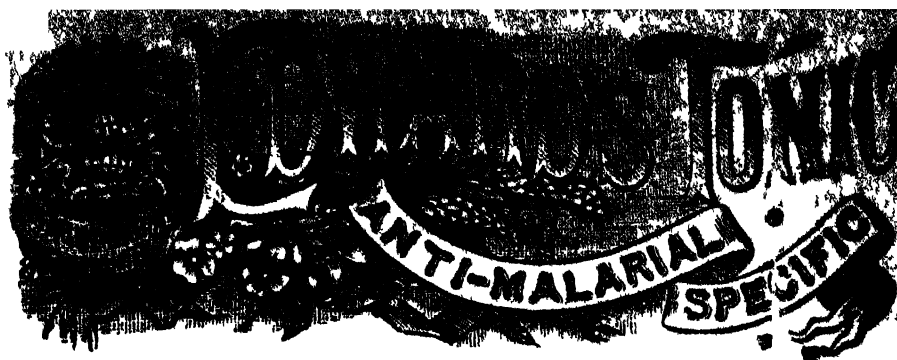
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সুরেশ চন্দ্র বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় প্রণীত

জাপান ।

উৎকৃষ্ট কাগজে কুন্তলীন প্রেসে সুন্দর ছাপা । জাপানী চিত্রশিল্পী দ্বারা প্রস্তুত ৪০ খানি চিত্র সম্বলিত । কাপড়েব সুদৃশ্য মলাট, মূল্য ১।০ মাত্র । ডাক মাশুলাদি স্বতন্ত্র, প্রকাশক—চার্টার্ড এণ্ড কোং, ২০৩৪ কর্ণওয়ালিস্ স্ট্রীট, কলিকাতা ।

প্রশংসা ।

প্রবাসী—*** চবিগুলি সেই দেশকে ভালো করিয়া বুঝিবার যথেষ্ট সহায়তা করিয়াছে ।

*** জাপানের রাষ্ট্র, সমাজ, সংসার, ব্যক্তি, দৃষ্টি, রীতিনীতি, আভ্যন্তর-অস্থান, সকল বিষয়ের খুঁটিখুঁটি সংবাদ বেশ প্রাণ দিয়া দেখিয়া ভাবুকতার সহিত প্রকাশ করিয়াছেন । লেখকের দেখিবার শক্তি আছে, প্রকাশ করিবার শক্তি আছে । প্রবাসদ্বারা বর্ণনা পড়িতে পড়িতে হাসিমুখের মালা গাধিয়া গ্রন্থকারকে উপহার দিতে হয় । বাহারা জাপান সম্বন্ধে জানিতে উৎসুক তাহারা এই পুস্তকে যথেষ্ট অধিক ও কৌতুক লাভ করিবেন ।

বঙ্গবাসী—সুন্দর ধরনে বঁধা । ছাপা কাগজ হবি চমৎকার । লিখনভঙ্গী বেশ । আলোকচিত্রেরে কর্তা মনোমুগ্ধ । জাপান সম্বন্ধে জ্ঞাতব্য বিষয় জানিবার পক্ষে যে এ গ্রন্থ দৃষ্টি ও সহায় সে পক্ষে সন্দেহ নাই ।

সঙ্গীতবাসী—সুরেশ বাবু যে ভীষণদর্শী তাহার কোন সন্দেহ নাই । জাপানের লোকজন সম্বন্ধে তিনি পুঙ্খানুপুঙ্খ গবেষণা করিয়াছেন । জাপানের অনেক বিষয় পাঠকের মনে জীবন্ত ছবি অঙ্কিত করিয়াছেন ।

হিতবাদী—লেখক জ্ঞান জ্ঞানেন, সংবাদ বিন্যাস করিতেও জ্ঞানেন । লেখকের দেবার ও মনোবীর পরিচয় পাইয়াছি । বহিধানি বেশ হইয়াছে । গ্রন্থের হইয়াছে—অতি মধুর চিত্রবিন্যাসক হইয়াছে ।

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OLD SERIES
VOL. XIII. No. 7 }

JULY, 1910

{ NEW SERIES
VOL. VI, No. 7

PART I: INDIANA

MARITIME ACTIVITY AND ENTERPRISE IN ANCIENT INDIA : INTERCOURSE AND TRADE BY SEA WITH CHINA—III.

(Continued from pp. 94-103 of June, 1910 number of this Journal.)

VIII. Chinese Pilgrims to India 500-1000 A. D. : Evidence of Indian Maritime Activity in the Eastern Seas

(A)

We have seen that the evidence of the Chinese pilgrim, Fa-hien, proves the great familiarity of the Indian mariners with the Chinese waters at the beginning of the fifth century A. D. From this time forward they flocked to India in ever increasing numbers, very often by the sea, in ships belonging to Indian merchants or to the Indian settlers in the numerous colonies in Further India and the Malay Archipelago. These pilgrims who came to India to visit the sacred sites and monastic establishments, to study the doctrines preached by Buddha, and to take home to China the books in which those doctrines were expounded, have left behind them a considerable number of narratives of their travels and descriptions, more or less extensive, of the countries visited by them. During the latter half of the seventh century alone no less than sixty of them are mentioned by name, their itineraries having been compiled by their great contemporary and fellow-pilgrim, I-tsing (who visited India in 673 A.D.), in a work called *Ta-tang-si-yu-ku-fa-kao-seng-chuan* or "Memoirs of eminent Priests who visited India and neighbouring countries to search for the Law under the Great Tang Dynasty." I-tsing also wrote a record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and her colonies in the Malay Archipelago in a work entitled *Nan-hai-chi-kuei-nai-fa-chuan* i.e. "The Record of

the sacred Law sent home from the Southern Sea," the book having been composed and sent to China from the Indian settlement of Sri Bhoja in the island of Sumatra.*

These two books together with the *Travels* and the *Life* of the greatest of the Chinese pilgrims, *Hiuen-Tsang*, who visited India in the earlier half of the seventh century (A. D. 629-645), present before us an India with extensive maritime communications with China and other eastern countries and as a great colonising power. There were ocean-liners plying constantly and regularly between the Bengal port of Tamralipti and Ceylon, and also between both these places and the Far East. Prosperous Indian colonies flourished all along the coast of Further India from Burma to China and also in the numerous islands off the Malay Peninsula, and they were used as convenient halting places for vessels bound for China†. The manners and customs in these colonies, the rules and ceremonies followed and the subjects studied were those of India in every respect, so much so that I-tsing advises would be Chinese pilgrims to India to prepare themselves by a preliminary course of training in the Sanskrit language and also in correct Buddhist practices at some such place as Sri-Bhoja in Sumatra before venturing into Central India (*Vide* I-tsing's *Record* by Takakusu, p. xxxiv). I-tsing speaks of more than ten countries in the islands of the Southern Sea on all of which he found Buddhism flourishing, and all of them bear Indian names, such as *Sri-Bhoja* or *Malayu* (in Sumatra), *Kalinga* (in Java), *Mahasin* (on the Southern coast of Borneo), *Kacha* or *Kachchha* (in Sumatra) and the islands of *Bali*, *Bhojapura*, *Maghaman* or *Maghavan*, *Natuna* etc. which are identified with one or other of the islands in the Malay Archipelago.‡ On the mainland of Further India, he refers

* The former of these two works the *Memoir*, has been translated into French by Professor Edward Chavannes of Paris and the latter work, the *Record* has been translated into English by the Japanese scholar, Mr. J. Takakusu, B. A., Ph. D. There is no English translation of I-tsing's *Memoirs*; we have, therefore, consulted the French version by Professor Chavannes and given our own renderings in English from the Professor's French.

† A change had also come over these colonies since Fa-hien visited Java two centuries and half a ago. Buddhism had taken the place of Brahmanism as the predominant religion and Buddhist priests had no longer to dread, like Fa-hien, the persecutions of Brahmanical merchants on board the ships in which they travelled, but they received specially respectful treatment in the hands of the Buddhist commanders of vessels.

‡ I-tsing's *Record* by Takakusu p. 10 and pp. xxxix-li, and his *Memoirs* by Chavannes, pp. 36, 42, 77, 159, 181 etc.

to the Kingdoms of *Sri-Kshetra* (identified by some with *Prome* in Burma), *Lankasu* or *Kamalangka* (modern Pegu and the Delta of the Irrawadi), *Dvaravati* or *Ayuthya* (in Siam), *Champa* (modern Cochin-China and part of Annam) etc. (1), and Hiuen-Tsang also mentions as lying beyond *Samatata* (Eastern Bengal), the kingdoms of *Sri-kshetra*, *Kamalangka*, *Dvaravati*, *Ishanapura* (Modern Cambodia), *Mahachampa* and *Yenmo-na-chou* or *Yavanadvipa* (not yet identified) (2). The Indians were also well-acquainted with a country lying so far north as *Korea* which, I-tsing says in his *Record*, "is called in India *Kukkutesvara*" (I-tsing's *Record* by Takakusu, p. 17). We find also reference to a Korean *Sramana* (Buddhist Monk) at Tamralipti in Bengal and to two Korean pilgrims who met with an untimely death at *Pu-lu-ski* near *Sri-Bhoja* (I-tsing's *Memoirs* by Chavannes, p. 36; Beal's *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, p xxx).

(B)

Coming to the personal narratives of the sixty pilgrims whose travels have been recorded by I-tsing, and who came to India at different periods but all comprised in the second half of the seventh century of the Christian era, we find that many of them came to India by the ocean route. Almost all of these travellers by the sea changed ship at one or other of the Indian colonies we have mentioned above. Many of them, like I-tsing himself, came direct to Bengal, landing at Tamralipti; others, like the Master of the Dhyana, Wu-hing, (3) first went to Ceylon and thence again by ship to Bengal; there were some, like the monk TCheng-Kon and his companions, whom disease or death prevented from proceeding farther than the colonies of *Sri-Bhoja* or *Champa* etc.; and there were others again who, like the Master of the Dhyana, *TChang-min* met with a

(1) *Vide* I-tsing's *Record* by Takakusu pp. 9-12, li-lii; I-tsing's *Memoirs* by Chavannes, pp. 57-58 and 203; *Essays on Indo-China*, 2nd series, vol. ii, pp. 126-259.

(2) *On Yuan Chwang* by Thomas Watters, pp. 187-189; and *Buddhist Records of the Western World* by S. Beal, vol. ii, p. 200.

(3) The Chinese Buddhist monks are distinguished into three classes, according to the part of the threefold Buddhist doctrine to which they attached a more particular importance: those who are the *Masters of the Law* (Dharma); the others, the *Masters of the Dhyana*; and the third, the *Masters of the Discipline* (Vinaya). The title of the *Master of the three Pitakas* (Sutra, Vinaya, Abhidharma), as borne by Hiuen Tsang, was more honorific than any one of these three. Further, the title of *Master of the Shastras* is met with, though rarely, and applies perhaps to a special category of *Masters of the Law* (*Vide* I-tsing's *Memoirs* by Chavannes, p.l. note 2). Fa-hien was a Master of the Law, while I-tsing was a Master of the Vinaya.

watery grave on the immense abyss on their way to India. The merchant-ship in which this noble-souled pilgrim sailed from the Indian colony of *Moloyu* in Sumatra for India, was very heavily laden with cargo, and she had not proceeded far from the place where she left her moorings, when all on a sudden enormous waves arose, and in less than half a day she went down to the bottom of the sea. At the moment when it perished, and there was a mad rush and a furious fight amongst the merchants for the life-boat, the commander of the vessel who was a believer in the Law, exhorted the monk at the top of his voice to save himself by getting into the boat, but the Buddhist *Sramana* responded with calmness 'Take ye the others into the boat ; for me, I stir not,' (I-tsing's *Memoirs* translated by Prof. Chavannes, p. 42).

The foregoing facts gathered from the records of the Chinese pilgrims of the 7th century A. D., supply no doubt, sufficient evidence, that at that period of Indian history there was frequent and intimate intercourse by sea, between India and China, and further that India was then a great colonising country, planting settlements and establishing powerful kingdoms in foreign lands separated from her by the vast ocean.

(C)

During the three centuries that followed (viz, from the 8th to the 11th century A. D.) there are frequent notices in the Chinese annals of leave obtained from the Emperor by Chinese Buddhists to visit India for religious objects (*vide* p. lxxi, *Cathay and the Way Thither* by Sir Henry Yule). So late as 966 A. D. when the monk *Tao-yuen* returned from his twelve years' pilgrimage to India, 157 Chinese priests set out together, with the Emperor's permission, to visit India and obtain Buddhist books (*Vide* Dr. Edkins' *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 144). Another of these later travellers was *Khi-nie* who journeyed in India (964-976 A. D.) at the head of three hundred Chinese Buddhist monks who had been sent by the Emperor of China to seek for relics and collect Sanskrit books.* From the 11th century, the Chinese pilgrims became less frequent, no doubt, owing to the decline of Buddhism in India, but that they continued to come here for a long time to come, is evident from the fact that in the middle of the 14th century (1342 A. D.), an embassy arrived at the court of the Pathan Emperor, Muhammad Tughlak at Delhi, with a message from the Emperor of China requesting that he should "be permitted to rebuild a temple in the country

* *Vide Vie de Hiuen Tshang* or 'Life of Hiuen Tshang,' translated into French by Stanislas Julien, p. vii.

about the mountain of Kora", i.e. at the base of the Himalayas, which was much frequented by his subjects (vide *Travels of Ibn Batuta* translated by Lee, pp. 155 *et seq.*)

IX. The Great Emporium of Chinese Trade in India : The Bengal Port of Tamralipti

The greatest emporium in India in ancient and mediæval times, of the maritime trade carried on with China and the Indian colonies in the Eastern seas, was the ancient town* of Tamralipti on the Bengal sea-board, at the mouth of the Hughli, from which Indians had set forth since the Vedic times* on their commercial and colonising expeditions far out into the Indian Ocean. There appears to have been a regular traffic carried on by sea between this port and Ceylon on the one hand, and China and the Indian settlements in the Malay Archipelago on the other. It was the port of disembarcation for those who came to India from China by sea, and from here voyagers to the south or to China set out on their long ocean journey. We have seen Fa-hien embark here in a large merchant vessel in A.D. 411 and reach Ceylon in fourteen days, sailing day and night. Two centuries and a half later we find I-tsing speak of Tamralipti as "This is the port where one embarks for returning to China" (*Vide* I-tsing's *Memoirs* by Chavannes, p. 97). I-tsing arrived there in A. D. 673 in a ship belonging to the king of *Sri-Bhoja*, and twelve years later he embarked on board an Indian merchant ship at the same port, heavily laden with Indian sacred texts forming 'more than five lacs of slokas, which if translated into Chinese, would make a thousand volumes' (*Ibid*, p. 10). Speaking of this port he refers to the regular maritime communication between Tamralipti and Ceylon, and describes the usual route from India to China by way of Tamralipti and the Indian colonies in the following words :—

"Tamralipti is forty *yojanas* south from the eastern limit of India. There are five or six monasteries; the people are rich. It belongs to Eastern India and is about sixty *yojanas* from Mahabodhi and Sri-Nalanda. This is the place where we embark when returning to China. Sailing from here two months in the south-east direction we come to *Ka-cha*. By this time a ship from *Bhoja* will have arrived there. This is generally in the first or second month of the year. But those who go to the *Simhala Island* (Ceylon) must sail in the south-west direction. They say that that island is 700 *yojanas* off. We stay in *Ka-cha* till winter, then start on board ship for

* Tamralipta is mentioned in the *Atharva Parishishta* I.VI, 4 and also very frequently in the *Mahabharata*, the *Puranas*, the *Varaha Samhita* and other sacred and secular Sanskrit literature, as well as in many inscriptions. These references have been summarised in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, 1908, pp. 288-291, by that erudite Bengali scholar and archaeologist, Babu Manomohan Chakravarty, M.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

the south, and we come after a month to the country of *Malayu*, which has now become *Bhoja*; there are many States (under it). The time of arrival is generally in the first or second month. We stay there till the middle of summer and we sail to the north; in about a month we reach *K'wang-fu* (Kwang-tung in China). The first half of the year will have passed by this time. When we are helped by the power of our (former) good actions, the journey everywhere is as easy and enjoyable as if we went through a market, but, on the other hand, when we have not much influence of *karma*, we are often exposed to danger as if (a young one) in a reclining nest. I have thus shortly described the route and the way home, hoping that the wise may still expand their knowledge by hearing more.”*

Many of I-tsing's contemporaries also landed at Tamralipti and resided for considerable periods in its monasteries. The Master of the Law, *Tao-lin*, came there by way of *Java* and the *Nicobars*, and resided there three years, learning the Sanskrit language (*vide* I-tsing's *Memoirs* by Chavannes, p. 100). I-tsing on his arrival at Tamralipti had met there at the monastery named *Varaha* another compatriot of his, the Master of Dhyana, *Ta-tcheng-teng*, who had come by way of Ceylon and whose ship was pillaged by brigands at the moment when it entered the mouth of the river. *Ta-tcheng-teng* resided at Tamralipti for twelve years and acquired an extensive knowledge of the Sanskrit language. (*Ibid* p. 71). *Hwui-Lun*, a Buddhist pilgrim hailing from Korea, remarked of Tamralipti, “this is the place for embarking for China from East India, and close to the sea” (*vide* “*Life of Hiuen-Tsang*” by S. Beal, p. xxviii). There are various other Chinese travellers who landed or embarked at Tamralipti. It appears that these religious enquirers from China and other foreign countries arriving at the port by sea were welcomed and hospitably treated at the Buddhist monasteries of which there were some ten in the town with ‘*more than a thousand brethren*.’ (*Vide On Yuan Chwang* by T. Watters, vol. II, p. 190.)

The great Hiuen Tshang, whose travels in India took up more than sixteen years (A. D. 629-645), arrived at Tamralipti in the course of his journey and he describes the town as wide in circuit and situated near an inlet of the sea. The kingdom of Tamralipti of which it formed the capital formed ‘a bay where land and water communication met’ and consequently the inhabitants who are said to have been courageous had grown prosperous by trade, and “wonderful articles of value and gems had collected there in abundance” (*vide Buddhist Records of the Western World*, by S. Beal, vol. II, p. 201 and *On Yuan Chwang* by

* *Vide* Mr. Takakusu's *Introduction* to his translation of I-tsing's *Records*, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv.

Mr. Thomas Watters, vol. II, p. 190).* Hiuen Tshang had made up his mind to pass over to Ceylon by sea from Tamralipti when a monk from Southern India dissuaded him from doing so, saying "that it was not necessary for him to undertake a long ocean journey during which the contrary winds, the impetuous waves, and the *yakshas* (demons) would expose him to a thousand dangers; it would be better for him to cross over from the south-east point of Southern India whence he could arrive in Ceylon in the space of three days." This would enable him to travel with greater security and also to have the advantage of visiting the sacred monuments of Orissa and other kingdoms" (vide *Vie de Hiouen-Tshang* i.e. Life of Hiouen-Tshang translated into French by S. Julien, pp. 183-184).

Chinese travellers sometimes arrived by sea at other points on the Bengal coast also; for example, the Master of the Discipline, *Tan-Koang*, arrived from China at *Harikela* on the Bengal coast situated between Tamralipti and Northern Orissa. Another monk, *Wu-hing* arrived there with his companions from Ceylon. While a powerful Chinese *sramana* (monk), *Seng-tche*, arrived with his disciple and companion at the country of *Samatata* or Eastern Bengal. (Vide I-tsing's *Memoirs* by Chavannes pp. 106, 143, 127).

Tamralipti maintained its greatness as a seat of maritime commerce till the eighth or ninth century A.D., after which the silting up of the channel passing near it, combined with political changes, led to its being given up as a sea-going haven, and its commercial prosperity gradually dwindled. Subsequently the river encroached and swallowed it up, removing the last vestiges of this once famous Bengal port. When, however, in 1881, the river *Rupnarayan* was cutting away the modern town of *Tumruk* standing on the site of the old port, a large number of coins of very early date and *terracotta* figures of Buddhist deities were laid bare and collected—the poor mementos of an ancient and long past grandeur (vide *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, vol. v, pp. 4-6).

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Calcutta.

HARAN CHANDRA CHAKRADAR, M.A.

* The record of Hiouen Tshang's travels in India called the *Si-yu-ki* and an abstract of his *Life* compiled by two of his contemporaries, have been translated into English by Rev. Samuel Beal (London, 1884, etc.) and into French by Mon. Stanislas Julien (Paris, 1857 and 1853). A revised and critical version of the more important portions of the *Records* has been made by Mr. Thomas Watters, and has been published under the title, *On Yuan Chwang* (London, 1904).

SWADESHI INDIA OR INDIA WITHOUT CHRISTIAN INFLUENCES: AN EXPOSITION AND A DEFENCE—PART TENTH

(Continued from pp. 57-64 of the April 1910 number of this Journal)

SECTION TWENTY-EIGHTH.

In the last preceding Two Parts of this series of articles in the March and April numbers, the idea we sought to explain was that the institution of hospitals and dispensaries, like other works of charity in Ceylon in the pre-Christian and the post-Christian centuries, originated in the birth of a religious civilisation, which came from India and swept over the land for centuries and centuries, regulating and shaping Sinhalese national life in every department of its activity. In Christian Europe, under the influence of Christianity, with its mission of love for the poor, the distressed and the oppressed, the earliest work of charity for the healing of the sick and the infirm by the opening of a hospital is dated the 7th or the 10th century \pm A. D., and the greater bulk of such healing establishments remained in the hands of the clergy until the *Reformation* in the 16th century, while after that we note that the great movement in hospital-building of the 18th century was not directly traceable to ecclesiastical influences but to the progressive march of a *secular civilisation* * (*vide* p. 301, vol. XII of *Encyclopædia Britannica*—ninth edition, also vol. II, chap. VI of *Lecky's History of Rationalism in Europe*.)

When, therefore, we speak of hospitals and other institutions of charity and benevolence in India or in Ceylon, in the pre-Christian or the post-Christian centuries, it should not be forgotten that in those times they were but parts (and essential parts) of a wide-spread religious movement. This movement, both in the mainland and in the island of Ceylon, did not look upon the question of the secular welfare of the people as merely secular, but recognised the problem of the advancement of religion and of the material welfare of the people not as two separated problems, which must be tackled each in its own way, but as essentially one problem, each being the counterpart of the other. Such has always been the case in India as well as in Ceylon

† *Ude* Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, 1st edition, p. 259 and 2nd edition p. 250; also *Dawn* vol. v, p. 129.

* For a summary of the references here given, the reader is referred to Section Eight of the Second Part of this series of articles—p. 128 of August, 1909 number of this magazine.

until recent times, since when the wave of materialistic civilisation of the West has been steadily encroaching upon India's shores and seeking to transform India's national life in every one of its departments into an altogether new type, a type which places, worldly, material "success," whether national or individual, as an ideal to fight for and die for and naturally looks upon the promotion of "efficiency," individual or national, as the one supreme instrument and weapon for a people to forge, because it is the one thing needful for such "success."

These two points of view, the Indian and the Western, as they may be correctly called, are essentially different,—the one being spiritual and the other materialistic ; the spiritual movement, however, being not antagonistic to the secular, but impressing upon the latter its proper *subordinate* character in the scheme of things. This is the point of view from which the achievements of India's Past have to be studied and from what we have already seen of the national achievements of the Sinhalese people in the last Part (Ninth) of this series of articles, it must have been made clear that the religious movement in Ceylon was the one predominant factor of Sinhalese national life, giving direction to the national activity and the development of a unique and powerful civilisation. And we have shown generally, on the authority of recognised scholars, that benevolent activities and the pursuit of the useful arts and especially agriculture and irrigation followed in the train of the great religious movement which originating in the mainland of India spread into Ceylon and dominated the island from the 5th and 4th centuries B. C. onwards till the 13th and 14th centuries A. D. "The number of stupendous works in irrigation" (consecrated lakes, tanks, canals and reservoirs) "which were formed by the early sovereigns of Ceylon," declares Tennent, "almost exceeds credibility. Kings are named in the native annals, each of whom made from fifteen to thirty, together with canals and all the appurtenances for irrigation." (*Ceylon*, vol. I, pp. 364-5). Of these Sinhalese annals, forming the Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon, the *Mahavanso*, the *Dipavanso*, the *Mahavansi*, the *Raja-Ratnacari*, and the *Rajavali*, all of which have been rendered into the English language by competent English scholars, deserve prominent attention. And the late Hon'ble George Turnour who belonged to the Ceylon Civil Service in the second quarter of the 19th century, was able to prepare on the basis of these historical records, a very valuable "*Epitome of the History of Ceylon*," in which he has, to quote the words of Sir Emerson Tennent, "succeeded in condensing the events of each reign, commemorating the founders of the chief cities and noting the erection of the great temples and Buddhist

monuments and the *construction of some of those gigantic reservoirs and works for irrigation, which, though in ruins, arrest the traveller in astonishment, at their stupendous dimensions.*"

These Sinhalese annals, make it abundantly clear that the religious life of the kings and the people was not a thing apart, whose forces spent themselves along secluded channels, but that such life represented the dominant factor which created, directed, regulated, shaped and moulded the broad features of Sinhalese national activity in such benevolent directions as hospital-building in every part of the country, the starting of dispensaries, the distribution of medicines for the sick and the infirm, the repairing and maintaining of such healing establishments as had fallen into decay, and endowing new ones, etc. The religious life of the kings and the people also showed itself in other works and activities all intended for the public good, such for example as the extension of agriculture, the reclamation of waste lands, the construction of canals, the damming up of great rivers, for purposes of irrigation, the excavation of huge lakes or tanks, the formation of similar gigantic artificial lakes by the raising of huge dams and embankments and so "enclosing" them ;—also by repairing and maintaining old irrigation works which had fallen into decay. The main point to remember is that the problem of the material welfare of the country and of the advancement of religion did not present themselves before the Sinhalese kings and people as two separated problems, but as *one problem*, the problem of their material advancement being in Ceylon, as in the mainland, directly the result of spiritual forces, the religious impulses brought into operation by the advent of Buddhism among the people. In reading the descriptions of the benevolent activities of Sinhalese kings, it is difficult to distinguish any particular kind of their benevolent works as properly secular ; for in the course of the very same narratives recording such achievements by the Sinhalese kings as the excavation of *lakes* or other gigantic "tanks," the construction of canals, or the reclamation of waste lands, we almost always meet with such expressions as the king "greatly assisted the people and encouraged religion ;" or "promoted religion and the happiness of mankind," or "greatly encouraged the priesthood and was a great friend to the public," or "the King encouraged religion and did good to the world," etc. * The same king who built a *vihara* (monastery) and constructed a *dagoba* [दागब = पागुव = relic-stupa = tope containing relics] and maintained the priesthood by lavish endowments for the pro-

* Vide, *Raja-ratnacari*, pp. 54, 45, 37 ; also *Rajavali*, p. 241.

motion of the Buddhist faith, did, at the same time and with the very same object, build hospitals for the sick, erect alms—halls and asylums for the poor, open dispensaries, construct artificial lakes and canals for irrigational purposes. and help on the extension of agriculture. Thus, to take up one instance out of a large number for purposes of illustration, *viz.*, that of the Sinhalese king *Wasabha* who ascended the throne about 66 A. D., we find from *Rajaratnacari* (vide *Uppham's Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon*, vol. II, p. 57), and also from the *Mahavanso* (chap. XXXV), that while he “conferred on all priests throughout the island the three sacerdotal garments every third year and repaired throughout the island dilapidated (religious) edifices and constructed the *Muchala vihara*, and gave unto the *Bhikshus* who were in progress of being instructed in the word of Buddha the four sacerdotal requisites, and to the *Bhikshus* who propounded the scriptures, clarified butter and curds,”—the very same devoted follower of the Buddhist faith “distributed alms to the mendicants at the four gates of the City, and medicinal drugs to the priests afflicted with diseases; and formed also the following eleven tanks * * *; and also for the extension of cultivation constructed twelve canals of irrigation and caused sixteen large lakes to be enclosed.”

SECTION-TWENTY-NINTH.

Thus, religious and secular public activities, the advancement of religion and the welfare of the people, went hand in hand and were in no way divorced from each other. We have evidence drawn from the several historical chronicles of Ceylon to which we have already made reference, that from so far back as the reign of the Sinhalese king *Pandukabhaya* of the 5th or the 4th century B. C., down to the reign of *Parakramabahu* of the 12th century A. D., the same process of promoting national secular welfare and of advancing the faith went on and progressively developed. And the construction of huge irrigational works (like those to which we have drawn the reader's attention) for purposes of extension of agriculture, and similar other undertakings for the material welfare of the people, all prompted by the impulses of religion, were a feature of the entire period. It would appear, however, that in the early days of Buddhism in Ceylon, when the religion of the Buddha had not grown into the dimensions of a Church with a large priesthood to support, these “vast undertakings” in the words of Tennent, “were completed for the benefit of the country and out of compassion for living creatures,” in consonance with the fundamental principles of the Buddhist faith. But, to quote the same authority, “so early as the

first century of the Christian era, the custom became prevalent of forming (huge irrigational) tanks (or lakes) with the pious intention of conferring the lands which they enriched on the church. Thus, wide districts, rendered fertile by the interception of a river and the formation of suitable canals, were appropriated to the maintenance of the local priesthood ; a (huge irrigational) tank (or lake) and the thousands of acres which it fertilised were sometimes assigned for the perpetual repairs of a *dagoba*, and the revenues of whole villages and their surrounding rice-fields were devoted to the support of a single *vihara* " (monastery) [Tennent's *Ceylon*, vol I, p. 365]

Thus, royal piety and with the growing popularity of Buddhism, private munificence and mortuary gifts all contributed to the enriching of temples and *viharas* in Ceylon with lavish endowments of lands ; and " a signal effect of this regal policy and of the growing diffusion of Buddhism is to be traced in the impulse which it communicated to the reclamation of lands and the extension of cultivation " (*Ibid*, p. 362). For, " as the estates so made over to religious uses lay for the most part in waste districts, the quantity of land which was thus brought under cultivation necessarily involved large extensions of the means of irrigation. To supply these, reservoirs were formed on such a scale as to justify the term " consecrated lakes " by which they are described in the Sinhalese annals." (*Ibid*, p. 364). Since, as pointed out by Tennent, " so vast were the dimensions of some of these gigantic tanks that *many yet in existence still cover* an area of about fifteen to twenty miles in circumference. The ruins * of that at *Kalaweve* (and known as the *Kalawapi* tank) which was caused to be excavated by King Dhatusena, who reigned about the middle of the 5th century A.D., show that its original circuit could not have been less than forty miles its retaining bund being upwards of twelve miles long. The spill-water of stone which remains to the present time is perhaps one of the most stupendous monuments of human labour in the island." (*Ibid*, pp. 464, and 391 ; also Turnour's *Mahawanso*. p. 12).

The huge artificial lake known as the *Kalawapi*† of the 5th century A. D. is but one of an innumerable number of similar gigantic reservoirs of preceding and succeeding centuries. The *Minihiri* or *Minera* lake one of the most lovely of these artificial lakes,

* Vide *Rajaratnacari* p. 37.

† To be seen in ruins a little to the north-west of Dambool famous for its rock-temple which still exists though in ruins. (Vide, Tennent, p. 360 ; also *Ruined Cities of Ceylon* by Henry W. Cave M. A., F. R. C. S., chap. viii).

belonged to the last quarter of the 3rd century A. D., having been formed under the orders of King Mahasena and watered 80,000 *ammonams* of ground. We read in the *Raja-Ratnacari*—"The King Mahasena made the lake of Minihiri and with the water of the said lake prepared for cultivation 80,000 *ammonams* of ground, and all the produce of the said ground to be appropriated to the said temple. He also thought of making the rice still more plentiful throughout Ceylon and to that end made the lake of Galgamic, the lake of Sallurawe, the lake of Calawe, the lake of Mahaminia, of Sokooram, of Kimbool-watenaw, of Ratmal Cadoo, of Tiswadumaw, of Welanga, of Mahaloo, of Siroo, of Magadaranga, and Calatogatic; and added to these, he made no less than seventeen great lakes, * * and moreover to all the priests he once a year gave three suits of clothing; and thus encouraging religion and doing good to the world he reigned for the space of twenty-seven years." (*Raja-Ratnacari*, pp. 69-70).^{*} Passing through the intervening centuries, when the same process is seen at work of advancing religion (by the construction of temples and *viharas*, etc.) as well as of promoting the public good by works of public utility, we come to the 12th century A. D., the days of that most renowned Sinhalese monarch Para-kramabahu, whose reign is signalled by such works of charity and benevolence as the construction and maintenance of hospitals and the erection of almoneries for the sick, the distressed and the indigent and by various other works of religious merit, but specially by irrigation works so prodigious in extent and so vast in number that we doubt whether a parallel to it could be found in the history of any other part of the world. "The details preserved in the Sinhalese Chronicles as to the works of irrigation which king Para-kramabahu formed and restored afford an idea," says Tennent, "of the prodigious encouragement bestowed upon agriculture in his reign, as well as of the extent to which the rule of the Malabars (the invading Tamils from South India) had retarded the progress and destroyed the earlier traces of civilisation. Fourteen hundred and seventy tanks were constructed by the King in various parts of the island, three of them of such vast dimensions that they were known as the '*Sous of Parakrama*' and in addition to these, three hundred others were

* The evidence of *Rajavali* is also to the same effect, only instead of 80,000 *ammonams* of land, it speaks of "20,000 rice-fields, which were prepared for sowing" Further it mentions the additional fact that the lake *Minnery* was formed by "damming up the river *Caraw-ganga*, which used to run to the said place *Minnery*" (*Rajavali*, p. 237)

formed by him for the special benefit of the priests. The 'great lakes' which he repaired, as specified in the Mahavanso, amount to thirteen hundred and ninety five and the smaller ones which he restored or enlarged amount to nine hundred and sixty. Besides these, he made five hundred and thirty-four watercourses and canals, by damming up the rivers, and repaired three thousand six hundred and twenty-one. The bare enumeration of such labours conveys an idea of the prodigious extent to which structures of this kind had been multiplied by the early kings; and we are enabled to form an estimate of the activity of agriculture in the twelfth century, and the vast population whose wants it supplied, by the thousands of reservoirs still particularly used, though in ruins; and the still greater number now dry and deserted, and concealed by dense jungle, in districts once waving with yellow grain." (Vide Tennent's Ceylon, vol. I, pp. 408-9).

All this makes it abundantly clear that the religious life of the kings and peoples of Ceylon, as well as of the mainland for centuries and centuries preceding and succeeding the Christian era was not a thing apart, but that it directed and regulated the entire secular activities of the nation in the manner described above. The practice of benevolence on a truly national scale for the national advancement of the people and the practice of religion lay not in two separate grooves, but formed parts of one common circle of duties. As in the construction of irrigational works on a truly national scale for purposes of extension of agriculture by the reclamation of waste lands, so also in the establishment of hospitals and dispensaries and of asylums and charity-halls on a similar national scale for the sick, the distressed, the indigent and the infirm of the land, it will be seen that the same principle and ideal was observed, namely, not the promotion of material prosperity as a national end or as the supreme object of a nation's life, but the ennobling and the spiritualising of a nation's life by associating and regulating their secular and material welfare and activities with and by the principles of an all-embracing religion. The impress of the national religion was clearly marked on every department of Sinhalese national life; and as we proceed with our study of Sinhalese hospitals and dispensaries, we will notice not the slightest deviation from the same general rule, but the same emphasised in a more thoroughgoing fashion.

PROGRESS OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN NATIVE INDIAN STATES—PART IV

(Continued from pp. 103-104 of June, 1910 number of this journal)

TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN TRAVANCORE STATE :

I. Introductory

(A)

The State of Travancore is admittedly a "Model" State in India. In its physical aspects,—with its hills and dales, lakes and rivers, with its plains studded with ever-green verdure, and above all, with the ocean dashing at its shores, it is apparently an epitome of India, and is sometimes styled by writers as the Garden of the South. In its territorial aspects also, it has a very unique character : It was a meeting place not merely of nations of whom history can give but a meagre account, but also of those of whom historical evidences are fully available, the existence of its extensive trade with the earlier Eastern and Western nations, such as the Greeks, the Romans, the Chinese, etc., being now recognised as an historical fact. In the higher aspects of religion and culture, its representative character is well borne out by the fact that here one would find all stages of human progress in religion and culture—from the savage hill-tribes and the so-called "untouchables" following the grosser forms of heathenism and superstitious cults to the higher-class Hindus following the various forms of Pauranic Hinduism and also to those cultivating the knowledge of the Vedantic philosophy and the Vedic religion ; while one would never miss to count among the subjects of Travancore, thousands of the Jewish people who are followers of Christ and have settled there from times long past. But with all the evidences of its representative character, both in the past and in the present, as indicated above, Travancore has acquired the honoured distinction of being styled a Model State, only because of its present efficient administrative machinery and of the progress it has achieved in the several departments of government.

(B)

In the matter of education, in particular, the State has maintained its rightful claim to be a Model State. For, the *Census of India* 1901 bears testimony (*vide* p. 175, vol. I.) to the fact that ten years ago Travancore was second to no other State in India in the matter of education than that of Cochin and that it was much ahead of all the provinces of

India except that of Burma only. Of course Baroda has rapidly advanced since then and its recent enactment instituting free and compulsory primary education has placed it in the foremost rank, but Travancore also is moving with the times, and the enactment of a new Code abolishing all fees in classes I to IV of all recognised Elementary Schools and thus making primary education wholly free, is a prominent feature among the changes brought about by the State in course of the current year, in the matter of general education. And in the matter of technical education also, with which we are more concerned here, Travancore is not much behindhand of Baroda. There are altogether about twenty technical schools in the State which provide technical education on a fairly adequate scale. Three such schools impart engineering training to higher-class students in the several subjects for Civil Engineering, such as Building Materials and Construction, Building Drawing and Estimating, Hydraulic and Irrigation Works, Earthwork and Road-making, Bridge-work, Surveying and Levelling, Applied Mechanics, Machine-Drawing, Steam Engine, etc. Industrial training of the artizan class, especially in the subjects of weaving, carpentry and smithery is provided in five or six such schools. Industrial training of the poorer classes as well as orphan boys and girls in the several handicrafts, such as, lace and embroidery work, painting and drawing, carpet-weaving, dress-making, ivory-carving, engraving, modelling, etc., for which there is an ample demand in Travancore, are provided in a number of technical schools in the State. Commercial training in the several subjects of commercial correspondence, book-keeping, commercial geography, shorthand, type-writing, banking, etc., is provided in three such schools. With regard to agricultural education, it does not appear that there is any special provision made as yet, but there are Experimental Farms through which practical agricultural knowledge is spread among the agriculturists. Further, Agricultural and Industrial Exhibitions are periodically held ; this promotes in various ways the agricultural and industrial knowledge of the people and gives impetus to the local arts and industries.

(C)

Altogether more than 600 students are receiving technical education in Travancore. It is noteworthy that in twelve of the institutions education is imparted free of all charges. It is also note worthy that the number of girl students receiving industrial instruction in several of these schools, is greater than that of the boys. Notwith-

standing all this sign of progress, it does not seem that popular enthusiasm in Travancore in favour of technical education is greater than, or even as great as, in Mysore. Another noteworthy circumstance in connection with these Travancore industrial schools is that some five or six of them owe their inception to foreign Christian Missions who have been working among the numerous Christian subjects of his Highness' Government. However, the present striking progress of technical education in Travancore must be attributed mainly to the benevolent care taken by the Government of Travancore, as would be apparent from the fact that fourteen of the technical schools, missionary and non-missionary, are receiving grants-in-aid from the Government. With these introductory remarks, we proceed to a detailed consideration of the subject of Technical Education in Travancore.

II. Engineering Training of Higher-Class Students

The three Technical Institutions imparting education in Civil Engineering are—(1) The Sri Mula Rama Varma Technical Institute, Nagercoil; (2) The Native Technical Institute, Trivandrum; and (3) The Fort Technical Institute, Trivandrum,

(A)

The Sri Mula Rama Varma Technical Institute at Nagercoil was started in May, 1903, by the public of South Travancore on the initiative of the then executive engineer, P. W. D. of the State. The Institute at present comprises two main sections, one Engineering and the other Industrial. On the Engineering side, two classes are held, viz., (1) Subordinate Engineering Class, and (2) Surveyor Class. The course of instruction in the Subordinate Engineering Class extends over two years. The subjects taught in this class are—(1) Mathematics including Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Mensuration, and Plane Trigonometry; (2) Engineering including Building Materials, Building Construction, Hydraulic Engineering, Applied Mechanics, Mechanism and Steam Engine; (3) Drawing including Geometrical and Perspective Drawing, Free-hand and Model Drawing, and Machine Drawing; (4) Estimating; (5) Surveying including Chain Compass and Plane Table, Levelling, Theodolite Survey, and Topographical Surveying. Admission into the class is regulated by a competitive examination held by the Institute in April every year from among those who have passed the Matriculation Examination of the Madras University or any equivalent examination recognised by the Travancore Government. The strength in each year is limited to twelve students as a maximum. A certificate is issued to each student on his passing the Final Examination held by the Institute. Holders of this certificate are eligible for employment as Overseers, Sub-overseers, Draftsmen, etc., in the Public Works, Municipal and other Departments of the State. Students of this Institute are also eligible to appear in the

Madras Government Technical Examinations in the various subjects taught to them. The course of instruction in the Surveyor class extends over one year only. The subjects taught are, (1) Building Materials, (2) Building construction, (3) Building Drawing, (4) Estimating, (5) Surveying with chain, compass and plane table, (6) Levelling, (7) Earthwork and Road-making, (8) Mensuration and (9) Gymnastics and Drill. Admission into the class is regulated by a competitive examination from among those who have undergone a full year's course in the Fifth Form of a recognised High School. The maximum number admitted every year is twenty. Passed students from this class find no difficulty in getting suitable employment throughout the State. The recurring annual expenses of the Institute came up to Rs. 9,000.

(B)

The Native Technical Institute, Trivandrum was started during 1900. It has at present four sections, (1) Engineering, (2) Weaving, (3) Type-writing, and (4) Printing. (Press). The Engineering section consists of two courses, (a) Overseer Course and (b) Sub-overseer Course, each extending over a period of two years. The subjects taught are some of those taught in the Nagercoil Institute above described. Into the Overseer class, matriculates generally, and in special cases, also those that have failed in the Matriculation Examination, are admitted. In the Sub-overseer class students of Forms IV, V and upwards are admitted. The initial cost of the Institute was Rs. 10,000 and the maintenance charges come up to Rs. 3,500 per annum. We understand that most of the students passed out of, or trained at this Institute have found employment either under the Government of Travancore or of Cochin.

(C)

The Fort Technical Institute, Trivandrum was started about four years ago with two sections, (1) Engineering and (2) Commercial Training. The Engineering section comprises two courses, (1) Sub-overseer and (2) Surveyor courses. The subjects taught are:—Civil Engineering, Building Materials and Construction, Building Drawing and Estimating, Hydraulics and Irrigation Works, Earthwork and Road-making, Bridge-work, Surveying and Levelling, Applied Mechanics, Mensuration, Practical Plane and Solid Geometry, Machine Drawing, Geometrical Drawing, Freehand, Outline and Model Drawing. The course of instruction extends over three years, the training in the first year class being of an elementary character, that in the second and third year classes being of Intermediate and Advanced grades respectively. Students are eligible to appear in the Government of Madras Technical Examinations in the several subjects. It appears from reports published that most of the

students passing out of this Institute have found employment as Sub-overseers, Draftsmen and Surveyors in the Public Works, Railways, Local Boards, Municipalities, Forest and Revenue Survey Departments in Travancore and elsewhere.

III. Industrial Training of the Artizan Classes

For the industrial training of the artizan classes there are a number of schools teaching weaving, carpentry and smithery. *Weaving* is taught to artizan students in four of the Technical Institutions in the State, viz, (1) The Sri Mula Varma Technical Institute, Nagercoil; (2) The Native Technical Institute, Trivandrum; (3) The Attungal Weaving Institute, Attungal; and (4) The Setu Lakshmi Bhye Weaving Institute, Attungal.

The Weaving Section of the Nagercoil Technical Institute imparts both theoretical and practical instruction in the following subjects—(1) working fly-shuttle handlooms and weaving different kinds of fabrics such as towels, *veshtys*, sashes, checks, carpets, bed-sheets, etc.; (2) designing textile fabrics and principles of the various kinds of weaving, *e.g.*, twills, drills, satins, etc.; (3) Free-hand drawing; (4) General Instruction—reading and writing Tamil; and (5) Elements of arithmetic with special reference to calculating the quantity of yarn required for cloth from given data, casting goods, etc. At the end of their course students can practise handloom-weaving with improved methods as a profession, or open handloom factories, or can work as teachers or foremen in weaving schools.

The Weaving Section of the Native Technical Institute, Trivandrum, imparts instruction in cotton-weaving with European as well as Indian handlooms and also in carpet-weaving. The Section possesses a fairly large number of looms of the improved type. With a view to give facilities for study to poor students, monthly scholarships are awarded ranging from Re. 1 to Rs. 8 according to the merit of the student. A large number of students passed out of this section have started business on their own account or have joined others in starting joint business.

The Attungal Weaving Institute and the Setu Lakshmi Bhye Weaving Institute, both at present controlled by the Sree Lakshmi Prasada Vavasayabhivardhini Company, Ltd., Attungal, were started some four or five years ago. The total stock of looms comes to more than twenty looms of the improved pattern. The students are taught the manufacture of various articles, such as, checks, towels, *jankals* plain and ornamental, laced *kavanies*, silk *doreas*, silk handkerchiefs with laced borders, bed-sheets, *coronattu-pudavay*, Madura *Thuppattas* and tapes, etc., of different patterns and sizes. The articles turned out by the above-mentioned two Institutes are said to be very good in quality and finish. The Head Master of the Attungal Weaving Institute is a passed student of the Institute and is remunerated with a salary of Rs. 35 per mensem. Passed students of these two Institutes have set up looms independently in their village homes near Attungal, Trivandrum, Changanacherry and Mavelikaraya Talukas. The total capital expenditure on these two Institutes amounted to more than

Rs. 6,000. The annual recurring expenses come up to Rs. 5,000, more than Rs. 1,000 of this sum being spent on scholarships to students.

IV. Industrial Training of the Artizan Classes—(*continued*)

As we have seen, besides weaving, the teaching of carpentry and smithery is also provided in certain technical schools for students of the artizan classes. The more important of such institutions are :— (1) The Sri Mula Varma Technical Institute, Nagercoil, (2) The C. M. S. Industrial School, Kottayam, and (3) The Rama Varma Technical Institute, Changanacherry. Besides, the *Industrial School of Arts* in Trivandrum teaches carpentry and carving among other subjects of industrial arts. Of the first three institutions, the technical Institute at Nagercoil and the Industrial School at Kottayam teach the subjects of carpentry and smithery up to an advanced grade, the course of instructions in both the institutions extending over a period of four years. In the former, the instruction is both theoretical and practical and consists of :—(*Carpentry Section*)—(1) Making of various kinds of joints in wood, and application of the same in making furniture, such as, chairs, benches, tables, etc. ; (2) Turning wood ; (3) Examination of defects in wood and the right methods of selecting wood ; (4) Polishing and finishing furniture, etc. ; (5) Carving ; (6) Free-hand Drawing and (7) General instruction comprising reading and writing, elements of arithmetic with special reference to carpenter's work, *e. g.*, measuring timber and calculating prices of furniture, etc. (*Smithery Section*) :—(1) Forging iron and welding, tempering chisels, drill bits, etc., chipping and filing iron, making and repairing locks, use of dies for cutting screws ; (2) Making iron-safes, (3) Freehand Drawing ; and general instruction in reading and writing, elements of arithmetic with special reference to blacksmith's work, *e. g.*, calculating quantity and weight of iron and their prices, etc. We have taken pains to point out in detail the different divisions of the subjects of carpentry and smithery taught in these technical institutions under an idea that members of the educated community who are nowa-days frequently required to be connected with technical institutions in every part of the country, may have an opportunity of acquiring some insight into these matters.

The Industrial School at Kottayam also teaches the subjects of carpentry and smithery up to the same grade as at the Nagercoil Institute. Instruction is imparted free in this institution. The recurring expenses come up to Rs. 2,000 per mensem. These two institutions have done good work in providing people with skilled workmen able to use improved tools and appliances. They have also enabled a large number of artizan-class people to earn a decent living.

PART II: TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

THE DOCTRINE OF NATIONALITY : THE INDIVIDUALITY OF A NATION

[Adapted from an article appearing in the July, 1907 number of the *Ceylon National Review*, edited by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, D. Sc., and others]

I

What is a nation ? A nation is not a collection of individuals. A ship's company is not a nation. The crowd that gathers to hear a lecture or to witness the ascent of a balloon is not a nation. The volunteer association that works together for some definite purpose, as, for example, an association like the *World's Temperance Union* is not a nation. A nation is not a collection of individuals. What, then, is the nationality that constitutes a nation ? The answer is, it is the *individuality of a nation*. But what is this individuality of a nation ? Nations are composed of individuals. What is this individuality of the nation itself ? To answer this question, let us first of all try to answer the question, what is individuality in you,—what constitutes your individuality ? That would be the first question ; the answer to the other question would then become easier and more intelligible. What, then, constitutes your own individuality ? There are peculiarities of tone, of gait, of steps, and of peculiarities that we call mannerisms. These peculiarities, inexplicable and original,—these peculiarities that differentiate you on the *physical* plane from other men,—these constitute your physical individuality. For the vocal organ in me is constituted like the vocal organ in you, my muscles and my anatomical system are practically the same as your muscles and your anatomy, and yet when through this vocal organ my voice comes out, it is my voice and not your voice ; the leg is the same in you and me, no medical man can find any organic difference between the construction of your leg and my leg, and yet when in a dark night I walk up the steps of my house, those who know me and those who love me understand from the sound of my feet that it is I who am coming up and not another. These are little tricks of nature, inexplicable but undeniable, and these little tricks of nature differentiate, on the physical and physiological plane, the individuality of one man or woman from that of another man or woman.

Again, as there are these physical peculiarities that constitute our individualities, so there are also mental peculiarities belonging to different men and women, which constitute the elements of differentiation in their *mental* life. And by this differentiation which constitutes their mental individualities, so to say, the same problem is approached by me from *my own particular standpoint*. And it is through the peculiarities of *my* mental life that the laws of reasoning or universal logic work in *me* ; and these work in *you* through similar peculiarities of *your* mental life. And as there are these mental differences that constitute our individualities on the intellectual plane, so there are similar differences in the *ethical or the moral constitution* of you and me.

And so in the constitution of our *artistic* faculties, aye in the very making of our *spiritual* life, there are peculiarities or differences which are original and organic, which are inherited and not acquired. All these peculiarities, the whole of these separate peculiarities taken together in a particular man or woman, constitute his or her individuality or personality. These are facts which no man can deny. They are matters of universal experience.

II

And as there are little tricks of nature inexplicably different in mental and moral and spiritual constitution between man and man and between woman and woman which constitute their individualities, so there are little tricks of nature that distinguish and differentiate different collections of men which we call *different nationalities*.

These differences are universally admitted on the physical and physiological planes. There are differences in the physical structure of different races of men. The Negro differs in the very structure of his body from the Mongolian. The Mongolian differs similarly in his physical structure from the Aryan. The pigment of the skin, the angle of the nose, the formation of the eye, the structure of the cranium, these things which are observed and observable by psychometric measurements, these things constitute *on the physical plane*, universally acknowledged differentiations between one race of man and another race, between the Negro, the Aryan, and the Mongolian, for instance.

III

As there are these physical differentiations, so there are also between different nations, *differences* so to say, *in their mental structure*. Thus, in the constitution of their mental life, certain nations have viewed the world-problem from a particular standpoint. Other nations have viewed the same world-problem from other standpoints, and we are able to discover these differences in the mental or thought-structures of different nations, in the structure of the languages that they use, in the structure of their grammar.

For instance, there are sentences which can be formed and formed *only* in the Sanskrit or Sanskrit-derived or Sanskrit-allied languages, the construction of which is impossible in other languages. The sentence *aḥamasmī*, अहमस्मि, 'I am', meaning simply existence, is indicative of pure being, being absolute, such a construction is not possible and is not known to all the languages of the world. It is possible only in Sanskrit, in Latin, in Greek, in German, in short, in what the philologists call the Indo-European group of languages; it is not possible in other languages.

And what does it mean? It means this: that the conception of existence as mere existence, the conception of the self as a self, is an *original* conception among the Aryan races. And it is absent from non-Aryan peoples; and so the same idea, that of mere existence is to be expressed in non-Aryan languages in

a different way, not by the construction, *ahamasmi*, 'I am,' 'I exist,' or anything similar to this, but by the expression, "I stand, I sit. I eat, I walk, I sleep." What does it mean? It means that in these latter languages—the non-Aryan languages, the emphasis is on *doing*, while in the Sanskrit and the Sanskrit-allied languages, the emphasis is on *being*. In the non-Aryan tongues, the mind first sees and sees the action, and *through the action it knows the actor or agent*. While in the Sanskrit and its allied languages, the mind sees the actor, the agent, the subject, and through the agent, through the subject, it looks upon and understands the activities of the agent and the self. It means this that the consciousness of the self, the consciousness of the spirit, in other words, a sense of the spiritual, a sense of the universal has been the *original* consciousness in all the Aryan races of the world. While in other races, it has been *an acquired knowledge and not an original intuition*, and this differentiates the *thought-structure* of the Aryan from that of the non-Aryan races.

IV

And there are differences between the different branches of the same Aryan family, *e. g.*, between the Hindu and the Greek. The Greek views the spirit and the universal from a particular point, different from the point of view of the Hindu. The Greek realised the universal in and through the relation of the particulars ;—to the Greek to know the universal, the particulars had to be known in and through their varied relations. And since by the Greek the universal was realised through the relation of the particular therefore these particular relations had to be recognised, had to be accentuated, had to be developed for the realisation of the universal. And therefore all Greek science and art was based upon the right perception of the relation of objects and things,—and this peculiarity stamped itself upon Greek politics, Greek art, Greek logic, Greek sociology.

But in the Hindu, the sense of the universal or the spiritual was the predominant factor, dominating Hindu life, Hindu thought, Hindu religion, Hindu civilisation. To the Hindu, to know the particular was to know the universal. This hankering for the spiritual and the universal is ingrained in the very making of his mental, his ethical, his spiritual life. Other nations have gone in for other things, but the Hindu has gone in for the life of the spirit. from before the birth of history ; and the message of Indian history has been a message of supremely spiritual ideals.

Therefore it is clear that there are differences between the intellectual plane between one nation and another, constituting the intellectual individuality of nations. And so also there are differences between one nation and another in their social structure, in the organisation of their social life, in their social economy. Thus, there are nations where a type of social organisation is military, despotic, arbitrary, where the king is a despot and the military

chief ; while there are other social organisations where the type is not military but civic, where the type of social or political government has always been not political and absolute but constitutional and limited.

From this doctrine of the separate individuality of nations,—from this doctrine of nationality as founded on original national peculiarities and differences, it follows as a natural corollary that when the European brings under one general term, *Oriental*, every type of Asiatic culture and civilisation, when, in fact, he classes together the Aryan, the Hindu, the Chinese, the Turk and the Arab all together and calls them *oriental*, he falls into an egregious error.

A MOST DEFECTIVE CIVILISATION

In the January, 1910 number of the *Quarterly Review*, a well-known English Periodical, there is an article with the title—*The Rise of the Native*—over the signature of H. H. Johnston, who is presumably Sir Harry Johnston, the distinguished African traveller. At the conclusion of the article the writer gives “the middle class educated native,” whether of India or South Africa, or elsewhere, whose “rise” has been due, in the writer’s opinion, to the Britisher, the following, to us, most un-Hindu advice. Probably also the Christian Missionary will find that the effect of such advice, if taken seriously by the “middle class educated native,” will be to place the Christian religion on a level lower than the least of the non-Christian religions. If the advice given has any element of truth in the circumstances of the modern civilised Westerner, as apparently there is, such civilisation needs no doubt a close looking after, alike in the interests of the Westerner and the “middle class educated native.” Here is the writer’s verdict :—

“ *There are two ways of gaining the whole-hearted esteem of an Englishman. One is to contend valiantly with him in battle. But that accomplishment leaves you poor in knowledge and in worldly goods. The other plan, the sure, is to work hard, as he (the Englishman) generally does, and make lots of money. The possession of money is a guarantee of good behaviour and almost entirely leads to the enlargement of political abilities, and to prudence in the use of the franchise.*”

Alas ! for the future of a Christian civilisation in the West !

PART III

SECTION I : INDIAN EDUCATIONAL AND ALLIED MOVEMENTS

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATION, BENGAL : AN IMPORTANT AMALGAMATION

I

Our readers may remember that some time ago we gave in these pages a detailed account of the Society for the Promotion of Technical Education in Bengal, and of the Bengal Technical Institute established and maintained by the same organisation, which was started almost simultaneously with the National Council of Education, Bengal and the Bengal National College and School in the middle of 1906. The circumstances which led to the separate establishment of these two sister institutions may be explained by the fact that a section of our leaders were in favour of an exclusively Technical Education, while another section were in favour of a system of education in which literary, scientific and technical subjects were studied together up to a certain stage, and then separately in the higher collegiate stages. Those who were in favour of an exclusively technical education formed the "Society for the Promotion of Technical Education" and opened, in the middle of 1906, the Bengal Technical Institute, Calcutta; while those who advocated the combined system formed themselves into the National Council of Education in March, 1906 and established the Bengal National College and School, Calcutta, a few months after. As, however, there was much that was common between the aims and objects of the two institutions, the question of amalgamation between them had been engaging the attention of the well-wishers of both institutions ever since they were brought into being. But there were difficulties in the way which so long stood in the way of the amalgamation. It was expected, however, that the amalgamation would take place sooner or later, for as everybody knows, there is not much available surplus energy, either in the shape of men or of money, in the land, and it only required the lesson of experience extending over some 3 to 4 years to bring about the much-needed *rapprochement*. The long-expected and much hoped-for amalgamation is now an accomplished fact. Henceforth, the Society for the Promotion of Technical Education, Bengal, ceases to exist and becomes merged in the National Council of Education; and the Bengal National College and the Bengal Technical Institute will form parts of one and the same organisation, namely, the National Council of Education; of which the Arts and Pure Science side will henceforth be known under the name of the *Bengal National College*, and the Technical and Applied Science side by that of the *Bengal Technical Institute*, the Technical and Applied Science Departments of the Bengal National College being amalgamated with the Bengal Technical Institute and, therefore, ceasing to exist as a separate section of the Bengal National College. Among the conditions

of amalgamation is one which is of great importance and deserves prominent mention. It is embodied in Rule 32 (ii) and is that "at least one-half of the income of the National Council of Education, Bengal, which is not earmarked, shall be allotted for the promotion of Technical and Scientific education (excepting in the subjects of Biology and Mathematics) through the Bengal Technical Institute to be maintained by the Council, provided, however, that such one half shall include the cost of imparting education in Pharmacy and Physics and Chemistry (both Pure and Applied)." Another equally important change that has been effected for the purposes of amalgamation is in respect of the management of the two institutions. It is embodied in two new Rules formulated by the authorities of the Bengal Technical Institute and accepted and passed by the National Council. One of the Rules runs thus :— "The internal management of the Bengal National College and the Bengal Technical Institute *shall be vested in two separate Managing Committees* to be approved as hereinafter provided and they shall have such powers respectively as may be delegated to them by the Executive Committee." The other Rule is as follows :—The Executive Committee may *delegate all or any of its powers* for the internal management of the Bengal National College and the Bengal Technical Institute respectively to the Managing Committees which shall consist of not more than 15 members who shall be appointed by the Executive Committee and some of whom may not be members either of the Executive Committee or of the Council and *may not be Indians*. The Managing Committees shall appoint their own Secretaries and frame their own rules of business."

II

The effect of the above two Rules seems to us to be somewhat ambiguous. If the two Managing Committees to be appointed under the above Rules by the Executive Committee (which is the sole Governing Body of the National Council as contemplated by Act XXI of 1860 under which the National Council is registered) are nothing but two Sub-Committees working under the control of the Executive Committee of the Council, then the decisions of the Managing Committees would have the effect of mere *recommendations* to the Executive Committee, which, therefore, may or may not be accepted, or which may be modified by the latter body, at its discretion, and which thus accepted or modified would have binding force in the eye of the law. In this view of the matter, the legal character of the Executive Committee as the sole Governing Body as required by Act XXI of 1860 remains intact. But the aforesaid Rules passed by the Council say that the internal management of the Bengal National College and the Bengal Technical Institute *shall be vested in two separate Managing Committees* and the Executive Committee may *delegate all or any of its powers* for such internal management. The question, therefore, arises,—Are the decisions of the last-mentioned Managing Committees to be regarded as recommendations to the Executive Committee, so that they may either be accepted or rejected or modified *at the discretion of the Executive*

Committee ? Apparently the above view of the powers of the two Managing Committees does not receive much support from the two Rules to which we have referred. *If so*, the two Managing Committees cannot properly be regarded as two Sub-Committees working under the control of the Executive Committee (which is the sole Governing Body as required by Act XXI of 1860) but bodies with co-ordinate powers in respect of matters connected with the internal management of the Bengal National College and the Bengal Technical Institute. It must be remembered that these two institutions are not independent, *external* institutions, but they are and have become the property of the National Council, and are directly under its control. If they were, however, outside, independent bodies *merely affiliated* to the National Council of Education, then, no doubt, the National Council could not interfere with their internal management, except so far as the rules of affiliation applicable to all institutions affiliated to the National Council would render such interference necessary. As, however, the two institutions are not independent, external affiliated institutions, it becomes necessary that the Managing Committees of the two institutions *must be wholly subordinate* agencies whose actions in order to be binding legally must be sanctioned or approved by the Executive Committee of the Council which is the only controlling body recognised by the law. As it is, it would appear that the Executive Committee of the Council, after having appointed for a particular year the two Managing Committees and delegated its powers to them for conducting the internal management of the two institutions, becomes *functus officio* for that year and may not alter, amend or reject any of the decisions of the two Managing Committees. If this interpretation be correct, and apparently there is some reason for thinking so, the illegality of the constitution would undoubtedly affect the future of the National Council as a legally corporate body with certain rights, powers and privileges which it would not be possessed of except under the provisions of the law as laid down in Act XXI of 1860, under which it has acquired the status of a legally corporate body. Not being experts, we are naturally diffident as to the interpretation of the law, but if there is anything in our contention, we trust that the two Rules to which we have referred will be revised in the light of legal requirements.

III

One of the undoubted results of the amalgamation would be the economy of expenditure and for this the authorities deserve our heartiest congratulations. The financial condition of the Council, as the result of the amalgamation, is very well-explained in the following report published in the *Statesman* newspaper of Calcutta in its issue of April 19, 1910, of an interview by a representative of that paper with an ex-Secretary of the Council : "The total endowments of the Council of National Education amount to about nine lakhs of rupees. These are the endowments created by Babu Brajendra Kishore Roy Chowdhury, Maharaja Surya Kanta Acharya Chowdhury, and Mr. Subodh Chandra Mallik,

respectively. From these and other sources, the Council derives a fixed annual income of about Rs. 60,000. The Society for the Promotion of Technical Education, on the other hand, has as yet no permanent fund, no endowed property. But this deficiency, it has been arranged, will shortly be remedied, for Mr. T. Palit, Bar-at-Law, a member of the Governing Body, has agreed to endow property worth from nine to ten lakhs. He is at present paying Rs. 2,000 monthly for the expenses of the Society, which has an income of about Rs. 40,000 annually from donations and subscriptions." Thus, it appears from the above statement that when Mr. Palit's endowment is created, and it is expected that it will shortly be done, the National Council will have a fixed annual income, from all its properties, of over Rs. 60,000. And this sum together with the income from regular subscriptions will make the total fixed annual income of about a lakh of rupees, which is a fairly large sum to begin with. This is a circumstance which is undoubtedly one of the strongest guarantees of the future success of the amalgamated institutions, and the National Council deserves to be congratulated on its improved financial status.

IV

There are other considerations, however, which are intimately bound up with the future of the two amalgamated institutions, the Bengal National College and the Bengal Technical Institute, and they require to be pointed out in this connexion. It would appear that there were some twenty resignations in course of the last twelve months (July, 1909 to June, 1910) from the teaching and executive staffs of the amalgamated institutions. The places left vacant in the Bengal Technical Institute staff by the severance of connexion of Mr. Saratkumar Datta, the Principal, and Mr. J. K. Das-Gupta B. Sc., (Glasgow), A.M. C.I.E., A.M.I. Mech. E., Professor of Mechanical Engineering, are not easily to be filled up by men of equal qualifications. Of Mr. Datta it may be said that he is the first Indian who has passed with the highest honours the Electrical Engineering Examination of the Technological University of Charlottenburg (Germany), the largest and most completely equipped Technological University in Europe. Before he left for Germany, Mr. Datta had also a very distinguished career at the Calcutta University being a double M.A. of that University in Mathematics and in Physics, obtaining a first class in the last-mentioned subject. It is a matter of sincere regret that our own men in our own Swadeshi Technical College in Calcutta has not thought it worth their while to retain the expert services of one of our most distinguished students. The Government, however, have recognised his worth and have utilised his services on a high salary by conferring on him the prize-appointment of officiating Professor of Electrical and Mechanical Engineering in the Sibpur Engineering College, the only College of its kind in this part of the country, the post having temporarily fallen vacant on account of a two years' leave granted to the permanent incumbent, Mr. W. H. Everett, M.I. Mech. E., M.I.E.E. The University of Calcutta also, like the Government, has not failed to utilise Mr.

Datta's services by appointing him examiner for some of its Degree Examinations, e. g., the B.A., B.Sc., and B.E. (Bachelor of Engineering) examinations for the current year. Similarly, the expert services of Mr. J. K. Das-Gupta, B. Sc.(Glasgow), A.M.C.I.E., A.M.I., Mech. E., have been engaged by the Municipal Corporation of Calcutta on a salary of Rs. 400 per month. The Bengal National College has likewise become weakened by the resignations of more than a dozen Professors and other officers in course of the last twelve months. It would have been a most fortunate thing if, simultaneously with the amalgamation of funds and the establishment of one common controlling body for both institutions, there was also a real growth of teaching strength by the joining of hands of the old staffs of the two institutions. As it is, there has been a considerable weakening all along the line by the resignations of men of high character and superior attainments, whose devoted and expert services so very largely contributed to the present growth and (if they had not resigned) would have assured the stability and the future success of the two institutions. We are glad, however, to learn that the authorities are leaving no stone unturned to secure the services of a qualified body of men to fill up the vacancies. We trust that the new staff will be composed of competent and devoted workers whose energies, under proper guidance, will be able to make the amalgamation a real success. There are difficulties, however, in discovering and securing men of the right stamp.* As the *Bengalee* newspaper of Calcutta editorially pointed out sometime ago, the number of capable teachers and workers who would be likely to identify themselves with the cause of National Education and devote their best time and energies solely to it, in the present circumstances of our country, extremely limited,—as limited in fact, as the number of wealthy, charitably disposed men who are likely to come forward to render financial assistance to the cause of National Education. The authorities, therefore, have need to proceed with all due caution and tact in order to attract and retain the right sort of men to and in the work of the two amalgamated institutions, seeing that there have been so many and such important resignations from them in the course of less than a twelvemonth.

EDUCATIONAL ORGANISATIONS CONDUCTED ALONG ORTHODOX LINES : THE MODERN BRAHMACHARYASRAMA MOVEMENT—II

(Continued from pp. 58-60 of June, 1910 number of this journal)

IV. Proposed Separate Location of the two Departments of the Institution :—

When the Institution was first started it was located on *Ganganath*, a small isolated hill on the bank of the *Nerbudda* brought into prominence during the last fifty years by the residence of *Sri Brahmanand Maharaj*. His pupil *Sri Keshawand Maharaj*, having enlightened views on the question of educating *Brahmacharies*, had already a *Saraswati Mandir* (Temple of Learning), and he rendered considerable help in starting this Institution. The place was eminently suited for the prosecution of studies, but inconvenience having been felt

in obtaining the necessary supply of raw materials for the use of the Technical Section of the Institution and also on account of other difficulties connected with its *Laukika* (लौकिक) or Secular Department, both departments of the Institution had to be removed in August, 1908 to the temple of Kasi Visweswara Mahadeva, on the Ghordour Road, Baroda. The promoters of the Ganganath Institution, however, have discovered that the two departments ought to be separately located and they have accordingly decided to remove the *Vaidic* or Religious Department of the Institution again to its original site on the Ganganath hill, and permanently establish the *Laukika* Department at Jaleswar, an old, sacred place about a mile from the Railway station of Viswamitra, in Baroda territory. In the opinion of the authorities, Jaleswar would be a suitable place for all the requirements of the *Laukika* Department, and arrangements are being made to construct buildings on a large scale there. There will be boarding houses for the teachers, students and servants, a house to locate a medical dispensary, a cow-shed, technical workshop sheds, and other buildings.

In this connection we may mention that permission has been granted by the Baroda Government to the authorities of this Institution to hold a lottery under the name of "Jaleswar Boys Asrama Lottery," whose proceeds will be appropriated to the funds of the Institution buildings and also meet the expenses of repairing the temple of Sri Jaleswar Mahadeva.

V. Progress made by the Students :—It would appear from the published reports, that the students have made fairly good progress in almost all the subjects of study in course of the last three years of the existence of the Institution. Students of the *Vaidika* or the Religious Department, to whom the Rig-Veda, the Yajurveda, and the Apastamba Samhita are principally taught *along with a course of instruction in subjects of general education*, have made fair progress. In the first year they were able to finish *Pavamana* (पवमान) and *Purusha-Sukta* (पुरुषसूक्त) and in the second year to finish *Vaiswa-Deva* (वैश्वदेव), *Manyu-Sukta* (मनुसूक्त), *Saura* (सौर) and *Trisuparna* (त्रिसुपर्णा). Further, students of both the Departments have made equal progress in Sanskrit, Mathematics, the Vernacular (Marathi or Gujarathi), History and Geography. It is noteworthy that students whose mother-tongue is Marathi has been learning Gujrathi, and those whose mother-tongue is Gujrathi are learning Marathi; while all older boys with their teachers have been learning Hindi, the *lingua franca* of India. Boys of the *Laukika* Department have fared specially well in the technical subjects, such as *weaving, carpentry and sericulture*, as would appear from the following details connected with the Technical or *Laukika* section of the Institution. There were at the end of the second year (May, 1907 to April, 1908) five looms of the improved type, three being *Fly-shuttle looms*, one *Sayaji loom* and one Sample, besides two looms of the primitive indigenous type, in the workshops. With the help of these looms the boys were able to manufacture various sorts of articles, e.g., *khadis, gins, dhotis, tapes, coloured cheques, Rajapuri punchas, (napkins), towels, sataranjis* (a kind of carpet), table-cloths, *chadars, saris, thans,*

silk *kads*, etc. Again in the Carpentry section of the Technical Department, students have been able to make considerable progress, especially since its removal to Baroda. They were able to make frame-works, book-shelves, boxes, tables, chairs, doors, etc. In the *sericulture* section the boys were taught the methods and processes in connection with the breeding of silk-worms, their nourishment and preservation. They were also made to learn how to take out silk from the worms without destroying their lives and to manufacture various articles from the silk-thread. Castor-oil plants were cultivated, the leaves being made use of to preserve the silk-worms.

VI. Numerical Strength and the Teaching Staff:—There were at the end of April 1909, 54 students on the rolls. Of these 20 were Dakshini Brahmans, 11, Pateedars, 8, Gujarathi Brahmans, 8, Marathas, 2, Parblhus, 2, Vaisyas, 1, Punjabi, 1, Pardesi, and 1, Sonar. All the students were residents of the *Brahmacharyasram* with the exception of only one who was allowed to attend as a day scholar.

The Institution has got 11 teachers on its staff. Two are Vaidic teachers, one teaching the Rig-Veda and the other, the Yajur-Veda; one is a Shastri, teaching Sanskrit; one is a passed student from the *Kala-Bhavan*, the well-known Technical Institution of Baroda, teaching Carpentry and Weaving; one is a passed teacher of Drawing; one is a Hindi teacher; three are passed students from the Baroda Male Training College, teaching History and the Vernaculars; one is a passed matriculate. The Principal of the Brahmacharyasram is a distinguished graduate, teaching English, Marathi, and Mathematics. Besides these teachers, there are skilled artizans and occasional instructors. The success of the residential system, necessarily depends a good deal upon the character and qualification of the teaching staff, and we can congratulate the promoters of the Institution on having been able to secure a number of teachers who have completely identified themselves with its work.

VII. Government of the Institution:—The Institution is governed by a Directing body consisting of three gentlemen of light and leading, namely, Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal Desai, M.A., LL. B., Late Chief-Justice, Baroda, Dr. Moresbhar Gopal Deshmukh, B. Sc., M.D., Bombay; and Rao Bahadur Keshav Rao Gonesh Despande, B.A., Bar-at-Law, Baroda. The Governing Body has every power to make changes in the management, course of studies, appointment of teachers, etc., and to acquire and dispose of property in the interest of the Institution. There is also an Advisory Board who give advice to the Governing body whenever called upon by the latter in any particular matter or matters. The Advisory body consists of the following gentlemen:—(1) Sri Brahmachari Kesavanandaji Guru Brahmanand Maharaj; (2) Nagarseth Raja Ratna Maganbhai Puyushottam Bhai Haribhaktiwala, Baroda; (3) S. Baghoji Rao Kumvarji Raja Sirkey, Baroda; (4) Rao Bahadur Krishna Rao Vinayak Sarangapani, B.A., LL. B., Judge, High Court, Baroda; (5) Rao Bahadur Dajhyabhai Harjavan Das, Baroda; (6) Veda-sastra-sampanna S. Vyankatacharya Sastri Upadhyay; (7) Rao Bahadur Ramchandra Hari Gokhale, B.A., LL. B., Public Prosecutor, High Court, Baroda. There is a Treasurer, and two Secretaries to help the Governing body of the Brahmacharyasram.

VIII. Income and Expenditure for 1908-09:—The Institution has no endowed property, the income consisting of donations and subscriptions from the

public, voluntary contributions by parents of the students and *Mushti Bhiksha*, organised in the city of Baroda. As already pointed out, boys are given free education; parents of some 31 students, however, voluntarily contribute their mite to the funds of the Institution. The total receipts during the year 1908-09, came up to Rs. 9176, of which Rs. 4325 were received as donation and subscription, Rs. 4085 as contributions by parents or guardians of the students and Rs. 677 as *Mushti Bhiksha*. The Receipts together with the balance of the preceding year made a total of Rs. 12,550. The total expenditure during the period came up to Rs. 5,892, of which Rs. 3,485 were spent as Boarding expenses and Rs. 1,100 as salary. The monthly recurring expenses reached the total figure of Rs. 490. Thus, on an average the Institution spent Rs. 15 every month on each of its students.

IX. Popularity of the Institution :—That the Institution is gaining popularity day by day would appear from the fact that there were so many as 50 applications for admission into the Institution while the authorities had asked for and could make provision for only 15 students during 1908-09. Many distinguished persons have also visited the Institution since it was started in 1907, and have expressed themselves well pleased. Not the least noteworthy is the fact that the Baroda Government have extended their patronage to this Institution by sanctioning the "Jaleswara Boys Asrama Lottery" in its aid, as referred to already.

SECTION II : STUDENTS' COLUMN

THE INDIGENOUS MANUFACTURES OF SYLHET

Sylhet in Eastern Bengal and Assam is rich in its manufactures. It has not fortunately shared with many other Indian manufacturing centres the fatal tendency of imitating Western models. It is for this reason that even to this day the indigenous manufactures of Sylhet have retained their superiority in respect of quality and have not wholly died out. One of the most famous indigenous manufactures of Sylhet is the *Pati* (পাটী). The skill and tact displayed in the manufacture of high class *pati* is, indeed, extraordinary. Several specimens of Sylhet *patis* have won recognition in Industrial Exhibitions. The *Dases* (দাস) of Atghar, a group of families of that place, are specially famous for *pati*-making.

The *hardware manufactures* of the Sylhet district also deserve special mention. *Panchgaon*, an obscure village in the Maulavibazar sub-division, is specially noted for this industry. The blacksmiths of this place turn out such excellent specimens of *daos* (দা), sickles, locks, keys etc., that they are not inferior in comparison with articles turned out of ordinary machines.

The *ivory industry* of Sylhet is well-known for its excellence. Owing to the indifference of the local inhabitants, this excellent industry was gradually dying out. But since the inauguration of the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal, it has received a new impetus. A modest Industrial Association has been started to Rajnagar, where sincere attempts at turning out fans, chains, combs, landles, pens and bangles of ivory are being made.

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In spite of all our efforts in bringing out the paper punctually and the particular care we take in mailing, we still receive a number of complaints about non-receipt of the magazine by subscribers. Of course we know a few of them are entirely due to carelessness on the part of some of our subscribers who intimate to this Office change of address only at the eleventh hour and that also in some cases without any reference number—the Roll No. we mean. We have, however, as a matter of courtesy, been always mindful of complying with every request, be it so late in reaching this Office as the 29th, after which date it is practically impossible for us to make any change as the paper would have to come out and be posted on the first of every month. It gives us much anxiety and pain to find some of our subscribers complaining of irregularity or of non-receipt of our paper when we know that every issue of the *Dawn Magazine* was posted almost without exception on the 1st of every month during the whole of 1909 and the past months of the present year. We may here mention that the last **July 1910 issue was published and posted on the 1st July at 12 noon**, and the **June issue on the 31st May at 5 p. m.** The May, April, March and February numbers were also posted on the 1st of each month at 12 noon, 12-13, 8-30 and 5 P. M. respectively. Only the January 1910 issue was posted on the 3rd at 11 A.M. Surely the copies are either mis-delivered by postman or lost through Post Office or otherwise. No effort is lost on our part to examine every number before despatch. Under these circumstances we beg our subscribers strictly to follow the following rule :—If a subscriber does not receive the paper punctually, he may wait till the 10th of the month and then he should not hesitate to send a written complaint to the **Superintendent of Post Offices of his circle or division**, and not to the local Post Master and the following procedure will follow : The Post Office will then write to this office for particular information regarding the book-packet in question. On receipt of a reply from the Dawn Office, our subscriber will get a reply from the Superintendent of Post Offices together with the missing number if that officer is able to trace it. In any case our subscriber will be favoured with a reply from the Superintendent of Post Offices. When such a reply has been received by our subscriber he is requested to submit to this Office the 'Reply' he has got from the Superintendent of Post Offices and then after trying our last chance, we shall send a duplicate copy of that particular number, to our subscriber *provided that all this is done during the month for which the issue is due.*

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OLD SERIES
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AUGUST 1910

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PART I: INDIANA

MARITIME ACTIVITY AND ENTERPRISE IN ANCIENT INDIA : INTERCOURSE AND TRADE BY SEA WITH CHINA—IV

(Continued from pp. 105—111 of July, 1910 number of this journal.)

X.—VOYAGES OF INDIAN TEACHERS TO CHINA : 500—1000 A.D.

(A)

As in the case of the Chinese pilgrims to India, voyages undertaken by the many Indian Buddhist *Sramanas* who went to China by sea for the propagation of Buddhism testify to the constant maritime intercourse between the two countries. One of the most renowned of the Indian patriarchs, the twenty-eighth in the list of Buddha's successors, was *Bodhidharma* of the sixth century A.D. Says that German authority, Mr. H. Hackmann, in his most recent work, *Buddhism as a Religion : Its Historical Development and its Present Conditions* (1910),—"In the year 526 A. D. the patriarch of Indian Buddhism, Bodhidharma, * * * left his native land and migrated to China." (*Ibid* p. 80). In Dr. Edkins' *Chinese Buddhism* (p. 86) we read of "Bodhidharma, the twenty-eighth patriarch, the son of a king of Southern India, and the pupil of Prajnatarā, the twenty-seventh patriarch, a native of Central India." Again, "in A. D. 526, Bodhidharma after having grown old in Southern India, reached Canton *by sea* and was received with the honour due to his age and invited to Nanking where the Emperor of South China held his court." (*Ibid* p. 100). Similarly also in an article appearing in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1896, we find Bodhidharma referred to on the authority of a renowned Chinese geographer who lived in the eighth century A.D., by name *Chia Tan* as coming to Canton *by sea*, and not by the overland route. The writer of the *J. R. A. S.* article thus proceeds to give the exact words of the great geographer, "The Huang-

hwa-hsi-ta-chi (Record of Imperial Chinese Missions to the West) by Chia Tan says : ' To reach T'ien-chu (India) from Annam, there is an overland road by which one may go to this country ; yet Ta-mo (Bodhidharma) came floating on the sea to Pan-yu (Canton), and we may fairly ask whether the sea journey be not more expeditious than that lengthy road overland ? ' " Chia Tan is referred to by the writer in the following words, " a great geographer of the Tang Dynasty who lived about A.D. 730-805. He was author of important ethnographical works. He devoted considerable interest to foreign nations. He drew several maps (ten in number) one of which dealt with ' Chinese and Foreigners within the Seas '. " Bodhidharma's appearance in China marked the advent of a glorious epoch in the history of Chinese Buddhism and his doctrines have profoundly influenced the art and civilisation of China and Japan (*Vide* Laurence Binyon's *Painting in the Far East*, p. 108 ; also Dr. Edkins' *Chinese Buddhism*, pp. 100-102, also Kakasu Okakura's *Ideals of the East*, pp. 171-176).

(B)

Another remarkable fact in connection with the intercourse which subsisted between India and China is that in the beginning of the sixth century A. D., when, as we have seen, the great Indian patriarch Bodhidharma, crossed the sea to China (526 A. D.), there were in the single Chinese province of *Lo-yang* itself not less than three thousand Indian monks and ten thousand Indian families. Says Dr. Eitel in his *Buddhism : Its Historical, Theoretical and Popular Aspects*,—" Buddhism is a foreign religion introduced by foreign priests, of whom there were at the beginning of the sixth century upwards of three thousand living in China " (*Ibid* 3rd edn., p. 35). So also we read in Dr. Edkins' *Chinese Buddhism* (p. 99), " At the beginning of the 6th century A. D. the number of Indians in China was upwards of three thousand. Many of them resided at *Lo-yang*, the modern *Honan-fu*. The Prince of the *Wei* kingdom exerted himself greatly to provide maintenance for them in monasteries erected on the most beautiful sites. " In Mr. Kakasu Okakura's volume, *The Ideals of the East* (p. 113), we find the same thing repeated. " Thus, there was at one time in *Lo-yang* itself, to impress their national religion and art on Chinese soil, more than three thousand Indian monks and ten thousand Indian families. " There is not the least doubt that many of these Indian teachers adopted the sea-route in going to China, as the journey could thus be made with greater personal comfort and convenience and in far less time, than by the land-routes through the rugged fastnesses of the Pamirs or of Tibet, or the dreary deserts of Central Asia.

(C)

Coming down to the tenth century A.D., we find these Indian missionaries still going to China by sea. In 983 A.D. we read of an Indian monk who, at the invitation of the Emperor of China, went there from *Sri-Bheja* to apply himself to the work of translating Buddhist religious books into Chinese (vide *Chinese Buddhism* by Dr. Edkins, p. 45); and we have already referred to the Indian devotee, *Lo-hu-na* or *Rahula* who arrived about 984-986 A.D. at the Chinese port of *Chin-chew* (vide *Dawn* vol. VI, June 1910, p. 98). Indian teachers are referred to in Chinese works in later times, but from the eleventh century the gradual extinction of Buddhism in India itself and the advent of the Muhammadan power on the Asiatic continent, checked the further progress of Buddhism and stopped the religious intercourse between the two countries. But commercial relations, which, as we have seen, commenced in the seventh century before Christ, subsisted during the period of Pathan and Mughal domination in India, till the Europeans made their appearance in the Oriental Seas.

HARAN CHANDRA CHAKRADAR, M.A.

SHIP-BUILDING AND NAVIGATION—WHY SHOULD THERE NOT BE A REVIVAL OF THE OLD MARITIME ENTERPRISE OF THE HINDUS?

(Being the leading editorial article appearing in the *Indian Mirror* of 5th June, 1910.)

We know Bacon's famous classification of books—some that are to be tasted, others that are to be swallowed, and some few that are to be chewed, and digested. As with books, so with the more ephemeral literature comprising newspapers and magazines. Some of them serve the purpose of mental tonic, while others show no justification for existence. The *Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine*, of which we have spoken many a time, distinctly belongs to that class of periodical literature which may be regarded as a mental and moral asset to the younger generation. Unpretentious in appearance, chaste and dignified in style, and brimful of the most valuable information concerning industrial matters, it is doing an enormous service to the educated portion of the Indian community. If anybody wants to have an accurate idea of genuine Swadeshi activities in different parts of India, he has only to procure a copy of the *Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine* and to pore over its contents. It is, briefly speaking, an interesting, instructive and useful publication which should be read by all men, young and old, who take any interest in the material progress of the country.

We specially commend to the notice of our readers the series of articles which have been appearing in the *Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine* on the "Maritime Activity and Enterprise in ancient India" etc. The second instalment, reproduced in our issue of Thursday last, is the most interesting and valuable of the series. The writer, Babu Haran Chandra Chakladar, M. A., deserves much credit for his laborious researches, and the Indian public ought to be deeply grateful to him for giving it the result of his labours. We wish all graduates of the Calcutta University could take a leaf out of the book of this enterprising writer, and direct their attention to useful antiquarian researches which are likely to bring into view the lost and forgotten chapters of Indian History, and to stimulate the activities of the rising generation in those directions which cannot fail to be attended with great beneficence to the country. What are the lessons we are to draw from the writer's discoveries? We learn, first and foremost, that the ancient Hindus were a race renowned all over the world for their learning, culture, spirituality, and withal, industry and enterprise of an extraordinary kind. They established maritime tracks between the East and West, and carried on trade and commerce with the distant nations of the world. They possessed their own merchant vessels which went to all parts of the globe so far even as America long before the Spanish explorer Columbus dreamt of its existence. In the seventh century, B. C., Indian merchants were powerfully settled on the Far Eastern coast. It is proved that Indian merchants virtually monopolised the sea-trade of the Eastern ports. Ship-building was a flourishing art in India in those days, although it did not attain the perfection which it has done in these times. We do not understand why our educated men do not learn ship-building nowadays. Many of our young men are going to foreign countries to learn various arts and industries, but, so far as we know, ship-building has not attracted any student. The only Indian that first learned ship-building was a Parsi gentleman of Bombay. From Mr. Chakladar's articles, it would appear that our Brahmans in ancient times were noted not only for their learning and spirituality, but also for their proficiency in the arts and for their indomitable courage and enterprise. Many of them were traders and merchants by profession and, naturally upright and honest, they gained unrivalled influence wherever they went. In those days, thousands of Chinese visited India in Indian merchant-vessels, some with the object of studying Buddhism in the land of its birth, and others for a purpose of trade and commerce. As a matter of fact, at one time there was a large Chinese population in India, vestiges of which are still to be found in various parts of India, especially in Mysore. Hindus visited China and the neighbouring countries in large numbers and spread the tenets of Hinduism and Buddhism far and wide throughout Asia.

Commercial enterprise will thus appear to be an inherent characteristic of the Hindu race. Is it not possible to revive the energies which have been dormant for a long time? There is now a great industrial awakening in the land, and it should, to our thinking, be utilised for a revival of the maritime

enterprise of the Hindus. Navigation and ship-building should be taken up in right earnest, for, if we have our own merchant vessels, it will be possible for us to renew our commercial relations with China, Japan, Siam, Corea, and other Asiatic countries. All of these Far Eastern countries are showing more or less wonderful activities in every department of progress, and our intercourse with them cannot fail to be vastly beneficial to us. China in particular is undergoing a notable metamorphosis. The vigour and energy with which she is carrying on the anti-opium crusade, are deserving of the highest praise ; and we Hindus can draw a good deal of inspiration from this example in fighting against our own social evils. It would be well, if we could open commercial relations with China as much as with Japan, Siam, Corea and other Asiatic countries. To do so, we must have, as we have said, our own travelling agencies—our own boats and steamers. There is one thing which can be done with particular advantage at this moment. We are now sending only boys to foreign countries. It would be well if some of our elderly men, as we have suggested from time to time, could visit China, Japan and other countries, to learn how business relations may be opened with them. Japan is, no doubt, a good model for imitation, but China, should appeal to us more owing to the fact that there is a good deal of similarity in the social and economic conditions of the Indians and the Chinese. Like our great evil of early marriage, the opium habit has been so long a millstone round the neck of the Chinese nation. China however is showing indomitable determination to reform herself. We wish our people showed half as much energy in putting down their social evils. In view of the close relations which existed between India and China in ancient times, as explained in Mr. Chakladar's excellent articles, we cannot do better than make China our model in nation-building.

SWADESHI INDIA OR INDIA WITHOUT CHRISTIAN INFLUENCES: AN EXPOSITION AND A DEFENCE—PART ELEVENTH

(Continued from pp. 112-118 of the July, 1910 number of this journal)

SECTION THIRTIETH

(A)

To us moderns of the twentieth century boasting of a materialistic civilisation whose arms have extended and are ceaselessly extending from continent to continent and reaching the remotest ends of the earth, it might appear almost fruitless, ay, even mischievous, to explore the antiquities of a civilisation like ours (for Indian and Sinhalese civilisation is one),—which, however brilliant in its ancient (forgotten) splendour has ceased to dominate our lives, having been founded on a view of

national existence which is no longer ours,—the view, namely, which regards the problem of the advancement of religion and the secular welfare of the people not as two problems essentially separate but as a single problem with but two sides or aspects. The cry is to divorce national life from its spiritual basis, to dissociate religious motives and impulses from national activities and to build up the world's civilisation on purely secular lines and ideals. The aspiration of the modern world, whether in the East or in the West, is to exalt the secular point of view, the secular conception of life as a national ideal (leading inevitably to national prosperity and aggrandisement), and so to build on that basis a structure of civilisation which would be purely secular in design and imposing in dimensions. The whole trend of modern thought points, in fact, to this one view that such activity as would ensure the secular welfare of a people, as would usher in the reign of material advancement and worldly prosperity must needs be based on a secular foundation and on no other. Therefore, the idea has gone abroad that in India and in the island of Ceylon the domination of the secular national life by an all-powerful religion tended in no small measure to arrest national development by presenting ideals and modes of life which are inconsistent with the growth of national prosperity and national power. The emphasis on the spiritual ideal of life which is the key-note alike of Buddhism and Brahmanism is declared in no uncertain tone to be destructive of all ideas of material advancement and of a social organisation that would ensure such advancement. Religious life, in short, lived and practised as it was on a considerable scale in days gone by, by the people of India and Ceylon, it is argued, led to the dwarfing,—not the enriching of national life, and was even supposed to cut at the roots of all national strength and vitality. And by way of a clincher, the example of the unrivalled success of the modern world in the varied departments of material activity—its boundless and apparently unending achievements, some, indeed, of the most dazzling splendour, have been brought forward to lend support to the theory.

(B)

The example of India and of Ceylon, however, show beyond doubt that for centuries and centuries preceding and succeeding the Christian era, a civilisation had been built up under the all-compelling and spiritualising power of religion—a civilisation which was not less imposing in dimensions, not less grand in its manifold variety, not less attractive to the most exacting imagination than our present-day secular civilisation. The history of those two countries show conclu-

sively according to the most exacting standards that the religious forces at work instead of arresting the growth and enrichment of the national life in the varied fields of material activity possessed a tremendous energy which left its mark on these countries which has survived till to day. The dynamic power of the forces of religion showed itself no less on the material side of national activities than on the purely spiritual plane. And this material advancement was forwarded not by the exaltation of the secular point of view *i.e.*, the materialistic conception of national life, but by bearing aloft the standard of religion while associating and regulating with it and by it the secular and material welfare and activities of the nation. The result was the growth of a unique and powerful civilisation, powerful for good in promoting spiritual life among the people and powerful for good also in forwarding their best material interests.

Take, for instance, the case of Ceylon with which we are here more directly concerned. "The new religion (of Buddhism) had filled its votaries with superhuman energy, and the ancient cities with their marvellous buildings and splendid resources were the outcome of the religious enthusiasm which followed the universal reception of Buddhism by the Sinhalese nation." Such is the testimony of Mr. H. W. Cave, M. A., F. R. G. S., who visited the island so recently as the early part of the present century and whose *Ruined Cities of Ceylon* (1903) bear eloquent testimony to the degree of material advancement attained by the Sinhalese people in their past history. Indeed, all competent authorities and observers—those who have visited the ruined cities and towns of the island, with their thousand and one landmarks of ancient glory, marvel at the stupendous character of the works of public utility undertaken and completed by Sinhalese monarchs for the amelioration of the material condition of the Sinhalese people, vestiges of such gigantic works surviving to this day. The history of the ancient glories of Ceylon is writ broad and deep in these works, notably those of irrigation—those great "tanks," as they are now called, but which are nothing but huge artificial lakes* That history was writ large also, as evidenced by inscriptions and the statements contained in Sinhalese historical works, in other commanding and extensive works of public utility, *e.g.*, hospitals and dispensaries, asylums, charity-halls and the rest of them, for the relief of the old, the sick, the infirm, the indigent and the decrepit, throughout the island. We shall be coming in due course to the history of hospitals and dispensaries in Ceylon under the overmastering influence of

* Cave's *Ruined Cities of Ceylon* p. 3; *Vide* also Tennent's *Ceylon*.

that humane religion, Buddhism,—a history rich with the highest achievements of religion. But its humane influence was equally shown in the prevention of drought and consequent famine in the island. "Before the arrival of Wijayo (विजय) from Bengal, who invaded and conquered the island in the 5th century B. C., agriculture was unknown in Ceylon. It was to the Hindu kings who succeeded Wijayo that Ceylon was indebted for the earliest knowledge of agriculture, for the construction of reservoirs and the practice of irrigation for the cultivation of rice; but the subsequent extension (of irrigational works) to an almost incredible number is ascribable to the influence of the Buddhist religion." (*Vide* Tennent's *Ceylon* vol. I., pp. 429-30). "Nothing," declares another authority, Mr. Cave, whom we have already quoted, "occasions us greater wonder or more fully attests the enormous energy of the ancient kings than the construction of these giant tanks and the numerous smaller ones dependent on them, forming a system of irrigation that established plenty throughout large districts otherwise beyond the pale of irrigation. Such works extended over the whole country. Even in the mountains of the Central Provinces at an elevation of six thousand feet we find remains of masonry and earth-works which were designed to divert the streams and rivers to those plains which were subject to periodical drought." (*Vide* Cave's *Ruined Cities of Ceylon*, pp. 133-134). Again, we read in Tennent—"The emotion of the traveller of the present time, as day after day he traverses the northern portions of the island, and penetrates the deep forests of the interior, is one of unceasing astonishment at the inconceivable multitude of deserted tanks, the hollows of which are still to be traced; and the innumerable embankments, now overgrown with timber, which indicate the sites of vast reservoirs that formerly fertilized districts, now solitary and barren. Every such tank is the landmark of one village at least, and such are the dimensions of some of them that in proportion to area, it is probable that hundreds of villages may have been supported by a single one of these great inland lakes." (*Ibid*, pp. 421-422).

The importance of these irrigational works in a country like Ceylon cannot be over-estimated. For, as pointed out by Sir Emerson Tennent, "in the northern portions of Ceylon droughts are of frequent occurrence and of long continuance; and vegetation in the low and scarcely undulated plains is mainly dependent on dews and whatever damp is distributed by the steady sea-breeze. In some places the sandy soil rests upon beds of madrepore and coral rock, through which the scanty rain percolates too quickly to refresh the soil; and the husbandman is

entirely dependent on wells and village tanks for the means of irrigation." (*Ibid* p. 432-33). "In the southern section of the island," continues the same authority, "the frequency of the rains and abundance of rivers afford a copious supply of water; while in contrast to this state of things the rest of the country is mainly dependent upon artificial irrigation and on the quantity of rain collected in the tanks, or of water diverted from streams and directed into reservoirs. It is no matter of surprise that the kings who devoted their treasures and their personal energies to the formation of tanks and canals have entitled their memory to traditional veneration, as benefactors of their race and country." (*Ibid* p. 433).

The importance of these huge tanks some "still partially used though in ruins" although the vastly greater number are "now dry and deserted and concealed by dense jungle," is recognised even at the present day by the present English masters of the island. Says Mr. Cave,— "That the provinces now lying waste will be restored to prosperity there is little doubt. There are some five thousand tanks to be repaired and brought into a state of efficiency before the consummation can be reached; but the good work is proceeding." (*Ruined Cities of Ceylon*, pp. 135-136). Again, "Twenty five years ago the people had reached a state of great destitution. There were no roads for communication with the more flourishing parts of the country; *their ancient tanks which had for centuries been in disrepair were becoming absolutely useless as a safeguard against drought*, and the whole population, seemed resigned to the inevitable. In this state of things the Governor, the late Sir William Gregory with true insight sought in the golden age of Ceylon the most effectual means of restoring health and plenty to a people decimated by disease and hunger, owing to the destruction of the great works of irrigation devised by their wise ancestors. * * * And now the number of tanks in working order may be reckoned by the hundred.*"

SECTION THIRTY-FIRST

(A)

So far we have tried to prove almost to a demonstration the absolute fact that in Ceylon in days gone by, the material advancement of the people was not hampered, but on the contrary was considerably stimulated by the growth of religious forces, that the dynamic power of one of India's religions was quite successful in inaugurating a

* *Ruined Cities of Ceylon*, pp. 16-17

scheme of civilisation whereby the secular and material interests of the people were not less but even more taken care of than it would be possible under the modern methods of civilised countries which are admittedly and exclusively secular or materialistic in their object, scope and character. We have tried thus far to clear up a misconception which holds in its grip the popular mind of to-day that there is something inherently vicious or weakening in a religious civilisation such as obtained in ancient India in the pre-Christian and post-Christian centuries, which if transplanted to-day in the modern world would keep back the tide of material progress and prosperity of the world. We propose to further combat this notion from another point of view and point out that the methods employed by our ancestors of old in starting and completing a huge and elaborate system of irrigation for the amelioration of the condition of the people showed that that system, originating as it did in considerations of religion and humanity, no less furnished evidence of commanding scientific skill and knowledge. The evidence of available facts ought to convince even the most sceptical among us that a religious civilisation like that in India and Ceylon, with which we have been hitherto dealing, had succeeded in no small degree to advance along the lines of scientific progress so as to make it possible to give effect to ideas of ameliorating the condition of the people by the undertaking and completing of huge engineering schemes like those to which all competent observers and critics draw our attention, and to which we have already made some reference.

(13)

We may adduce here the fact cited by Cave that "even in the mountains of the Central Province of Ceylon at the elevation of six thousand feet we find remains of masonry and earth-works which were designed to divert the stream and rivers, to those plains which were subject to periodical drought." (*Ruined Cities of Ceylon*, p. 134). And the writer goes on to declare further that "*there is evidence everywhere of such feats of engineering skill in irrigational matters as would in these days be a matter of pride to any nation.*" (*Ibid* p. 134). Again, to quote the same author, (*Ibid* p. 135), "the tanks for storing and the channels for distributing the necessary water were so well made and so skilfully arranged that the precious fertilizer could be admitted to the fields at the exact time required and the surplus drawn off with equal ease at the proper moment." Similarly, we read in Tennent :—"The conduits by which the accumulated waters were distributed required to be constructed under the bed of the lake, so that the egress should be certain and equal, as long as any water

remained in the tank. To effect this, they were sunk in many instances through solid granite. * * It cannot but exalt our opinion of a people, who, under disadvantages so signal, were capable of forming such a work as the Kalāweva tank, between Anuradhapura and Dambool, which, Turnour justly says, is the greatest of the ancient works of Ceylon. This enormous reservoir was forty miles in circumference with an embankment twelve miles in extent." (*Ceylon*, vol. I, pp. 467-8). This advance made by the Sinhalese in scientific engineering as applied to irrigational works continued to mark their history for centuries and centuries both before and after the Christian era ; so much so that even in the eighth century A. D. their services were requisitioned from distant Kashmir (*Rajatarangini*, bk. IV., verses 506, 509). Speaking of the great and almost overpowering difficulties with which the Sinhalese people had to contend, difficulties connected mainly with Tamil invasions of the island from Southern India, which were frequent and not less harassing, Sir Emerson Tennent remarks :—" It is surprising that the Sinhalese preserved so long the degree of expertness in engineering, to which they had originally attained. No people in any age or country had so great practice and experience in the construction of works for irrigation." (*Ceylon*, vol. I, p. 468). Again in another place : " Whoever may have been the original instructors of the Sinhalese in the formation of tanks, there seems every reason to believe that from their own subsequent experience, and the prodigious extent to which they occupied themselves in the formation of works of this kind, they attained a facility unsurpassed by the people of any other country. It is a curious circumstance in connection with this inquiry that in the eighth century after Christ, the king of Kashmir despatched messengers to Ceylon to bring back workmen, whom he employed in constructing an artificial lake." From the 12th and 13th centuries A. D., however, *i. e.*, since the reign of Parakrama Bahu I, probably in one sense the greatest of the Sinhalese monarchs, to whose deeds of philanthropy we have made some passing reference (*vide*, *Dawn*, July 1910, pp. 117-118), we discover a visible and progressive decline in the capacities of the people for the art for which they had so long been deservedly famous. Thus, we read in Tennent : " No great works, either of ornament or utility, no temples nor inland lakes, were constructed by the successors of Parakrama Bahu I ; and it is remarkable, that even during his own reign, artificers were brought from the coast of India to repair the monuments of Anuradhapura. The last great work attempted for irrigation was probably the Giants' tank, eastward of *Aripo* ; but so much had prac-

tical science declined, that after an enormous expenditure of labour in damming up the *Mooselley* river, whose waters were to have been diverted to the lake, it was discovered that the levels were unsuitable, and the work was abandoned in despair." (*Ceylon* vol. i, pp. 458-469).

But whatever may have been the causes of the decline of irrigational engineering in the island since the 13th century A. D., it is clear that the evidence of scientific skill afforded by the huge works to which we have drawn attention cannot be ignored. The question might be raised whether the destruction of reservoirs and tanks which led to "the desolation which now reigns over the plains which the Sinhalese formerly tilled" might not have been due to defective engineering. That this question admits only of one answer will appear from the following observations of Sir Emerson Tennent : "The destruction of reservoirs and tanks has been ascribed to defective construction, and to the absence of spill-waters and other facilities for discharging the surplus-water, during the prevalence of excessive rains ; but independently of the fact that vast numbers of these tanks, though utterly deserted, remain, in this respect, almost uninjured to the present day, we have the evidence of their own native historians, that for upwards of fifteen centuries, the reservoirs, when duly attended to, successfully defied all the dangers to be apprehended from inundation. Their destruction and abandonment are ascribable, not so much to engineering defect, as to the disruption " (caused by the Tamil invasion) " of the village communities, by whom they were so long maintained. The desolation which now reigns over the plains which the Sinhalese formerly tilled, was precipitated by the reckless domination of the Malabars " (*i.e.* the Tamils from Southern India) " in the fourteenth and following centuries. The ruin of a reservoir, when neglected and permitted to fall into decay, was speedy and inevitable ; and as the destruction of the village tank involved the flight of all dependent upon it, the water, once permitted to escape, carried pestilence and miasma over the plains they had previously covered with plenty." (*Ibid*, p. 424).

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES AND MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES FOR INDIA :

NEED FOR A MOVEMENT IN FAVOUR OF THE ARTIZAN CLASSES

I

Since the advent of the Swadeshi movement there has been an awakening amongst our countrymen, and an endeavour is being made

in some quarters to secure the industrial welfare of our country by starting such new industries as would, supplying our ordinary necessities, enable us to forego the use of foreign-made articles. This is a very noble aim in itself, but so far our efforts in this line have been directed to the starting of big factories and mills on the model of the western nations, and our capitalists in their new found ambition are casting eager eyes on this alluring prospect of rapidly increasing their wealth. Not that we have done much even yet in the line of mills and factories, but there is a growing hankering in the Indian mind for them. While the indigenous, Indian system of manufacture practised by the great bulk of our industrial classes—the system known as that of cottage industries—has not been receiving the attention or care that it deserves. Next to nothing is being done to resuscitate the innumerable dying industries, to ameliorate the condition of the great mass of our industrial population—our artisans and craftsmen—who from very remote ages have held the name of India high in the markets of the world. Even now, though some of the Indian handicrafts have perished, there is a large number of men still managing to earn their livelihood by the work of hand, and with proper help and guidance they may yet be made to reach the position which was theirs in the days of old. To rescue these artificers from the undeserving death which stares many of them in the face, does not strike the imagination or rouse the activities of the Swadeshite whose attention is held spell-bound by the dazzling vision of the western mill. Instead of rendering the artisan the assistance with which only it is possible for him to struggle against modern conditions, we are combining with the mill-owners and factory-lords of Europe and America to strangle out what remnant of life there may be still left flickering in him.

It is time that we take account of what we are going to do and examine critically how far the establishment of factories is calculated to bring about the much expected industrial salvation,—how it will affect the general economic condition of the country at large, in what way it will influence the *quality* of the manufactures of our country, to what extent it will serve to develop the *inner manhood* of the people engaged in their operation to raise their morals, to fit them as the citizens of a civilised country. Also we should consider whether it is possible so to modify and improve the methods of work of the manual worker as to enable him to compete successfully with the power-worked factories and mills.

II

In the first place let us pause to consider who it is that is going

to profit most by the multiplication of mills and factories in our country. The drainage of wealth from our country may be checked thereby, but the flow of money would be diverted from the pockets of the foreign capitalists—not into those of the industrial classes who are most in need of it but—into the coffers of the capitalists of India. This will concentrate wealth into a few hands and enrich a class of our countrymen, *viz*, those who are already rich, forming an imperceptible minority in the land, while the great majority, the vast number of artisans who have kept the industries alive so long, will not be benefitted at all. Those who have so long been the distributors of produce, the middle-men, will now become the manufacturers, while the original manufacturers, the artisans and the craftsmen, will be thrown out of their hereditary callings. Some of them may find employment in the mill which usurps their functions, but the mill requires the services of only a very minute fraction of the men whom it throws out of employment, and as it employs for the greater part only inexpert labour, the artisan has very little chance of getting suitable wages, being placed by the mill-owner on the same footing as a cooly—an inexpert loon. Nor is it always possible for the artisan to get to the mill for employment. The Dacca weaver thrown out of work by the Bombay or Ahmedabad weaving mill cannot seek for the amelioration of his circumstances in the mill, but would have to eke out a miserable pittance anyhow he can. Whenever there is a strain in the grain market, such artisans are the first to suffer and swell the ranks of the famine-stricken. So that as an inevitable result of the importation of mills and factories you will have—as they have in Europe—on the one hand, the money-grabbing millionaire fattening and gloating over his dollar-chests, and on the other, the poverty-stricken, slender, shadowy skeletons of the artisan stalking unemployed and helpless over the land.

III

As regards the influence of the mills upon the quality of the articles produced, specially those which require artistic skill in their manufacture, no one will perhaps ever refuse to admit that it is invariably for the worse. The superiority of the hand-made article over the machine-turned thing is admitted on all hands, it being the common experience of everyone that the hand-made article is more durable and decent; even in the most factory-ridden parts of Europe, the hand-made products always command a better price and are sought after by the higher and more refined grades of society. It is never possible for the machine to produce articles really beautiful. In fine

art-wares which require delicacy and taste in their production the machine is at a great disadvantage as compared with the manual workers. The machine works with a dead uniformity, an unbroken regularity and is useful in shaping articles requiring an enormous expenditure of force, for example, in welding heavy masses of wrought-iron, but soft and delicate touches are not within its ken. But in spite of all their ugliness and defects, the machine-turned wares have an appearance of cheapness—though in the long run the hand-made product is by far the cheaper of the two, and this recommends them to the indiscriminating public. This vulgarises the public taste, as it has already done to a fearful extent in India.

Then again, we have to take account of the fact that the artisan working for himself has to take his stand upon the usefulness and intrinsic merit of his handiwork for his success and to study the tastes and requirements of the public whom he seeks to serve. This urges him to put forth his best efforts to his work, and thus calls forth the inner powers, develops the artistic instincts and enables him to evolve fresh forms of usefulness and beauty. It was the superior craft and skill of the free Indian artisans untrammelled by the slavery that is the miserable lot of the factory hand that made the beautiful wares of India prized throughout the world. The system under which they worked, gave free scope to originality, fostered their inventive genius and the ingenuity, skill and deftness of hand evolved by the pursuit of the same calling through generations, imparted a perfection to their work unknown in Europe or America and an unrivalled excellence to their artistic skill. Long centuries of factory work in Europe have been deadening its own artistic instincts, and it is now looking to the Orient,—to India, China, Japan and Persia—for artistic inspiration. In art and craft schools in Germany and England, industrially the most advanced European countries, the students are being taught in oriental artistic methods and oriental artistic products are being largely used as models.

As this system of home-industries serves to improve the artistic skill and dexterity of the worker, so it also develops the higher faculties of the artisan as a man, while in either of these respects the factory fails utterly to do any good to its workman and is doing incalculable harm and mischief to society. The mill-hand is an automaton, an infinitesimal part of a vast organisation. It is not for him to produce a complete article from start to finish, he knows not of the finished product of his factory, but for the whole of his life he goes on working at a minute part of the whole article and is acquainted with that part

alone ; there is no occasion for an exercise of his intelligence or ingenuity and he gradually becomes as mechanical and inert as the machine he tends. Unlike the artisan, the mill-hand feels no interest in his work save and except a merely mercenary one. He loses his self-respect, and under the circumstances it is no wonder that when the uninteresting and compulsory hours of toil are over the propensities of the animal man get an ascendancy over him, and he is attracted to drunkenness and vice. While the Indian handicraftsman working in the midst of his family and absorbed entirely day and night in his work, is a model of good sense and sobriety filling an important and respectable position in society, his brother at the modern mills at Bombay and Ahmedabad is gradually developing the evil tendencies of his prototype in Europe and America. We would transplant on Indian soil the gigantic mills and factories of Manchester and Birmingham losing sight of the fact that in the train of these mills and factories there must inevitably follow the misery, squalor, wretchedness and immorality of the mill districts and slums, and also the strike, the boycott, the destruction of property, the shooting down of workmen—in fact the never-ending fight, tooth and nail, between capital and labour. We are going to commit the same mistakes that it has taken Europe long years to discover and we are rushing headlong into methods that have been found unsatisfactory in Europe and are being discarded in the most progressive countries, for example, in Denmark.

IV

From what we have said above it has been amply made clear that the industrial salvation of our country lies in the improvement of our industrial classes and not in the wholesale introduction of western methods, not in the establishment of big mills and huge factories. But the question is often asked will the hand-made wares of India be able to hold their own against the machine made articles of Europe. We do not see any reason why they should not. Even yet the Indian hand-loom clothe far more people than the mills of Manchester and Bombay combined. The Indian craftsman lives very simply, his wants are few, and working at home he is helped by his whole family, by the women and also by the children who work as so many apprentices—all this serving to keep down the cost of production. The present failure of our artisans is due not to any defect inherent in their system, nor to any want of skill on their part, but to their inability to keep abreast with the times. Their want of acquaintance with modern improved mechanical methods and labour-saving appliances, their helpless pecuniary condition and dependence on the exacting money-lender, their ignorance of

the conditions essential to the commercial success of their industries,—all these causes have combined to keep the Indian artisans in the low, helpless position where they are and to prevent them from attaining the high position which properly belongs to them. To revive the perishing industries of our country, to save our artisans from utter extinction, immediate steps must be taken to render timely help and relief to our craftsmen, to remove their ignorance and provide them with expert help and guidance.

First, the artisans should be trained to give up, where necessary, their time-worn, toilsome methods and to substitute in place of their imperfect implements, more efficient machine and other tools. In Europe itself, cottage industries with improved implements and methods have been competing very successfully with the power-driven mills and factories. The practical advantages of the modern improved implements and methods will have to be impressed upon the handicraftsmen by actual demonstrations, and practical training be given in the application of scientific and technical knowledge to the practice of the different industries. Thus may the artisans be initiated in the use of modern efficient tools and apparatus and be persuaded to substitute up-to-date improved mechanical methods in place of the slow and toilsome methods that he has been using so long. The most efficient of the up-to-date tools and hand power machines should be sought out and imported; sometimes it may be necessary to design new tools suiting the requirements and conditions of work of the Indian workmen. Arrangements have also to be made to supply these machine and other tools to the artisans, the price being realised by instalments.

Much of the drudgery and toilsome and lengthy operations that have now to be performed with the hand, may be saved by the introduction of some up-to-date method of utilising bullock or horse power, or by the supply of a small quantity of mechanical power just sufficient for the purposes of the artisan from a central power-house. This can, of course, only be done where, as at Serampore in Bengal, there is a large number of artisans living in the same neighbourhood. Sometimes it may be found useful to have some parts of an article made with the help of a power-machine and then supplied to the artisans.

Next, our artisan classes are proverbially poor, they lack the capital without which it would not be possible to introduce any improvements in their methods of work,—to procure improved tools or to provide the requisite technical instruction to their boys. Not only this, but not possessed of any capital, the artisan finds himself in a position which wholly precludes him from executing orders, if sufficient funds are

not advanced to him to enable him to keep himself and his family going while he is engaged in his occupation. Thus, on account of his poverty he is wholly incapacitated from turning out any really superior work on his own account and places himself entirely in the hands of the exacting middleman,—the money-lender. These money-lenders lend him money at a high rate of interest, compel him to purchase the raw materials through themselves, and they buy the finished products themselves from the artisan on the money-lenders' own terms. In this way, the middleman money-lender makes a triple profit for himself leaving the poor drudge only a slender margin of profit. This continues from year's end to year's end and the helpless artisan finds himself hopelessly in the meshes of the middleman. This state of things can only be remedied by starting organisations for advancing money to the poverty-stricken craftsman at a low rate of interest, enabling him to exercise free and unhampered his high artistic talents.

Then again our craftsmen require to be helped with regard to the conditions of modern trade and commerce or the laws that govern our export and import. Nor are they aware where the best raw materials can be had cheap, nor where their wares should be forwarded, to secure the best prices. It is necessary, therefore, to study the matter thoroughly, to collect all necessary information and organise arrangements for procuring the best raw materials from the cheapest market and to supply them to the artisans without making any extra charge, and also for disposing of the articles manufactured by them at the best available price,—to send them direct to the places where they are in ready demand.

Lastly, the artisans have to be made to adapt themselves to modern requirements, to be placed in touch with the tastes and likings of the present day public. A Director of Art who would exercise effective supervision over their practices and who while careful of preserving whatever is best in the indigenous methods of art manufacture would yet suggest such modifications as would make their productions suit modern taste and satisfy present demands would do infinite good to the industrial classes, and confer inestimable blessings on the country at large. Thus the indigenous system can be extended in practice under the supervision of a qualified Director of Art who while careful in preserving the time-honoured indigenous designs and ideals will yet be able to suggest modifications having reference to the demand based on utility and suitability of the decorations to a European and American drawing room. The above is necessarily connected with export trade ; but this export trade, if it is to be successfully carried out, must

from the outset be on a comparatively extensive scale and would involve the adoption of a line of policy necessitating the creation of middlemen, or as an alternative an extensive staff of commercial correspondents and foreign agents. Again, in the developments of the export trade frequent changes may be required to be introduced into the patterns (cf. the case of the textile trades, for example) to obtain any continuous demand for the fabrics. Again, Indian hand industries being more or less in a decadent condition, skilled workers, whether in wood, metal or the textile trades, are not very numerous and additions to their number can be made only very slowly. Therefore, *the development of the internal trade seems to be a more urgent necessity* and when some measure of success has been attained in that direction it might be feasible or desirable to extend the field of operations and attempt to establish an export trade.

Therefore, to meet the stress of Western competition, the artisan with his infinite hereditary skill must remain a hand-worker; he is to strive no longer to compete with machinery, but (1) his energies must be directed into channels where machinery is of little use; and (2) secondly, where necessary, he is to be supplied with good tools and taught methods of production in which advantage is taken of our increased knowledge of the properties of matter. He must be supplied with the best raw materials purchased in the cheapest markets and the finished product is to be sent direct to the place where it may be found to be in ready demand. In this way by uniting craftsmanship with commercial intelligence may a flourishing community of Indian artisans be established. It is clear from what has been described above that to give effect to the scheme sketched out above of improving the condition of our industrial classes, it would be necessary to form an organisation of qualified and devoted workers, and also to command in the first instance, sufficient means for starting it. But this would not be possible unless and until there is created a powerful public opinion in our country in favour of our artisan classes.

It should not be imagined, however, that we are opposed to all sorts of large capitalistic undertakings; on the contrary, we do think that there are certain industries, and there is a crying want of them in this country, which by the necessities of their case require organisation of capital and labour on a truly large scale; such industries, for example, as ship-building, railway enterprises, various descriptions of engineering undertakings including irrigation works; large chemical industries, *i.e.* those requiring extensive metallurgical operations (as in the manufacture of wrought iron and steel, etc.), such industries, in fact, as could not be undertaken except with the help of large capital and a large organisation.

Further, in many cases, it will be desirable and necessary to start *small industries* with a comparatively modest capital for the manufacture of such articles of everyday use as cannot be produced as a handicraft but require the help of machinery, though not on such a gigantic scale as mentioned above. Under this class we may mention modern industries to counteract the influx of foreign imports, such as soap-making, butter-making, match-making, tin-work, leather-work, paper, thread, candles, etc. This class of industries supply the daily wants of the people and are capable of being developed into home-factories. They

will, when properly managed, arrest the flood of imported German stuff which overwhelm every Indian household including the humble huts of the poorest of the poor. If we can stop this excessive import and encourage local industries, we should have secured the golden key to the salvation of the Indian artizan. In this way, candles, brushes, pencils, slates, soap, matches, cheap paper, buttons, toys, tin-boxes, tin-spoons, combs, glass beads of the rough sorts, glass-bangles, imitation jewellery, ink-bottles, inks, cheap hand bangles, twine, thread, brass and copper wire, bottled oils (like castor oil, linseed oil, salad oil), tapes, and a number of such things of every-day use can easily be prepared in India to stop the overflowing of our homes with German and Austrian stuffs. In this connexion Exhibitions will be of great value to India, *if instead of exposing the trade secrets of high-class workmanship to the machinations of accomplished western imitators, their, i.e. European cheap wares are exhibited in India with working models of the machinery and tools they use*, with a view to help on the minor or smaller industries which supply the daily wants of our people. Thus a class of men, who may aptly be called the "modern" artizans, have to be trained in what may be called the "modern" industries. The hereditary industries are to be confined to the hereditary craftsmen, but the modern ones are to be thrown open to sons of "advanced races." These modern-trained artizans will become soap-makers, candle makers, match-makers, glass-blowers, braziers, pencil-makers, brush-makers, oil-pressors, sugar-refiners, handloom-weavers, hand-mill spinners, calico-hand-working-roller-printers, and so on, and so on. These modern artisans can alone counteract the present overflowing of Indian homes with imported foreign stuffs.

Thus we have described and discussed in detail the relative importance of the cottage industries and the manufacturing industries, under which latter we have included huge capitalistic industrial undertakings, and also the smaller industrial undertakings known as the small industries. The net conclusion to which we have come is that although there is a great need for the manufacturing industries, the need for helping and maintaining the cottage industries at their high level is the greatest and the most imperative, and from this point of view, the idea which should be constantly present to our mind is that capitalism and commercialism should never be allowed to get the upper hand in India,—that she should never be allowed to degenerate into a suburb of London, Manchester, or Birmingham and that therefore, in a mad rush for private gain, our capitalists must never take up work which can be and had better be done by the handicraftsman. *Hence the need for a movement in favour of our artisan classes.**

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* For a further discussion of the subject see *Dawn (New Series) vol. I. pp. 24-28 ; and pp. 38-46 of Part I. ; also Dawn (Old Series) vol. III, pp. 266, 269, 226-233.*

PART II: TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

INDIAN SADHUISM

versus

WESTERN INDUSTRIALISM: STRIKING VIEWS OF AN ENGLISH AUTHOR

Mr. John Campbell Oman, formerly Professor of Natural Science in the Government College, Lahore, discusses the above subject in his well-known work, *The Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India* published by Mr. Fisher Unwin (1903). We give below in his own words a summary of his conclusions.

I. The Contrast of Ideals

"In the United States of America, which have no royal court and no hereditary nobility, which until recently had no foreign relations of any magnitude, where the feeling is intensely democratic, and where the best energies of the people are untiringly devoted to industrial pursuits, *the prosperous businessman springing from the rank of the people*, the clever accumulator of wealth, the plutocrat, the self-assertive millionaire is the *beau-ideal* of the nation and next after him the wide-awake pushing politician. Though Mammon worship prevails largely in England, the loftiest aspirations of the vast majority of Englishmen still tend towards aristocratic ideals, the objects of highest admiration among them (after royalty with its old world glamour), being the hereditary nobleman or landed gentleman who takes a leading part in public life, the strenuous statesman, and the victorious general.

"Very different from the business-born ideals we have been considering is the hero-type which for ages has drawn the admiring homage of India and the Far East. The covetous Westerners may have their eyes riveted with greedy appreciation upon the bejewelled Rajas of India and their barbaric pomp but it is the ascetic profession that time out of mind has been of pre-eminent dignity in the eyes of the Indian *people*. That the only possible state of a religious (holy) life is one involving asceticism and renunciation of the world has been for ages deeply rooted in India.

II. The Attractions of the New Age

"But, without doubt, existing circumstances are tending in many ways to discredit and undermine the national ideal, for the thoughts of men in India are now being strongly attracted to more worldly ideals. British rule with its strong bias towards material improvements, its encouragement of trade and the facilities it affords of cheap locomotion and for emigration has opened up a variety of careers, official and other, to all castes alike, and also many new ways to the acquirement of riches, while its stability guarantees the safe possession of wealth by all races alike. The ever-present proportion of wealth-seekers in the population has its opportunities *now* and is reinforced by crowds allured

away from their old ideals by the special attractions of the new age. As in the West, so in India to-day, the possessors of the world's goods, *however their treasures may have been acquired*, are objects of popular respect and receive marked consideration from the ruling powers, sharing with favoured officials to an appreciable extent the honours which the State has to bestow. Hence the desire for affluence and for the ostentatious parade of wealth has become very pronounced; and the more so, since outside the "Native States," most of the old hereditary dignities have ceased to be of much account under the new regime. Hindu caste distinctions necessarily receive little if any recognition under British rule, and the pride of the "twice-born" classes, no encouragement at all. *Sadhus* are not more fortunate, for whatever their merits or their claims may be, they are looked down upon with contemptuous indifference by the ruling-race, the *new twice-borns* of the Indian world, now in effect the *predominant caste*, exhibiting all the virtues and the vices of its peculiar position, privileges and pretensions. Another potent factor in determining the fate of *Sadhuism* is *English education*, which being indispensable for an official career is eagerly sought for by all the ambitious youths of the country. And the *alumni* of the Indian schools and universities inoculated with Western ideas and anxious to do credit to their training, generally affect, though they may not always feel, a supercilious unconcern about *Sadhus* and *Sadhuism*.

III. Are the *Sadhus* a Burden upon Indian Society ?

"Many estimates have been made, and at different times, of the proportion which the number of religious mendicants in India bears to the entire population. Mr. Ward, the Serampore missionary, writing a century ago and with special reference to Bengal and Behar, says: "I have endeavoured to ascertain the probable number of Hindus who embrace a life of mendicity, and am informed that scarcely less than an eighth part of the whole population abandon their proper employments and live as religious mendicants by begging." Mr. Crookes in his *North-Western Provinces of India* (1898), puts the figure for that territory at two millions out of forty millions, or one-twentieth of the population.

"Naturally every one who believes that the chief end of man is to *produce things of various kinds* grieves over the deplorable waste of productive energy represented by the *Sadhu* population of India. But, after all, is it of no importance that the country has been able to *produce* for a hundred generations whole armies of men able to practise *with a religious purpose*, that contempt of the world and earthly riches which is, at least theoretically, one of the most important of Christian virtues? No doubt, the philosophy and art, I might say the cult of chronic idleness is thoroughly understood and acted upon in India; still, in estimating the extent to which its *Sadhu* population is a burden upon the country, several facts have to be borne in mind which the most superficial analysis of the composition of the religious mendicant class brings to light.

"In the first place, among *Sadhus* are included a very considerable percentage of what in other countries are merely the destitute paupers supported

by the State out of the proceeds of taxation, but in India out of the alms of the people. Again, *Sadhus* are to no small extent religious teachers (*gurus*) of the masses, and this must be recognised in any estimate of their value or otherwise to the community. In the ranks of the *Sadhus*, too, there is honourable room for those men, present in every community, who as Bishop Creighton once said, "although as good as gold and fit for heaven, are of no earthly use." Further, the incorrigible idlers who in Europe become intolerable and dangerous vagrants, pursue a more reputable course in India. They simply adopt the religious habit of some sect or order and enter the ranks of the peregrinating *Sadhus*. There are other points, also, which in this connection deserve attention. For example, *Sadhus* are prominently in evidence on account of their peculiar dress and appearance, while their wandering habits taking them, often in huge parties, from place to place throughout the circling year, seem to multiply them many times over. Their necessary daily appeals for a dole of simple food to sustain life also helps to keep them before the public eye, and to unpleasantly remind the world of their existence. But, whether or not *Sadhus* are too numerous for the industrial well-being of the country, it should not be forgotten that, though there are undoubtedly many worthless *Sadhus*, the converse is also not less true, and that to the multitude a majority of these religious mendicants are types and *exemplars* of a holy life, and, as such help them to make for righteousness.

IV.—The Present Struggle .

"By no means enamoured of Indian *Sadhuism*, I feel at the same time no particular admiration for the Industrialism of Europe and America, with its vulgar aggressiveness, its eternal competition, and its sordid, unscrupulous, unremitting and cruel *struggle for wealth as the supreme object of human effort*. This stirring mechanical age finds the disillusioned descendants of the Rishis roughly awakened out of their old dream-world. Bewildered, resentful, but unable to resist the new stimulation from without, they are galvanised into feverish, unhealthy cravings for *material* things, not always harmless, into new expensive modes and standards of living. Some term this *progress*; but even so, the situation is not without a certain pathos; for after all, man's highest destiny is hardly realised by his being perpetually engaged in *manufacturing things of various kinds*, however useful in themselves, nor even in helping to distribute such productions, often with the aid of quick-firing guns over the face of the inhabited globe.

"But whatever may be the merits and demerits of the two systems, the Indian and the Western, they are essentially antagonistic since the *economic ideal of life*, being frankly worldly and severely practical, excludes imaginative emotionalism and dreamy sentimentalism, and consequently religion also, except of the philanthropical or pharisaical type. Hence a *momentous if unobtrusive struggle is inevitable* under the new conditions, between the forces which make for the *renunciation of the world* on the one hand and for the

accumulation of wealth on the other. And there is no doubt that, as a consequence, the immemorial civilisation of the Hindus will undergo change, both in its spirit and its practice, under the stimulus of the potent foreign influences to which it is now exposed. Yet I cannot help hoping that the Indian people, physically and mentally disqualified for the strenuous (materialistic) life of the Western world, will retain long in their nature enough of the *spirit of Sadhuism* to enable them to hold steadfastly to the simple, frugal, unconventional leisured life of their forefathers, for which climatic conditions and their own past history has so well-fitted them, always bearing in mind the lesson taught by their sages that real wealth and true freedom depend not so much upon the possession of money or of a great store of goods, as upon the reasonable regulation and limitation of the desires."

MODERN CIVILISATION AND MODERN ART

"The one great distinction and difference," says the great living artist Mr. Walter Crane, "which marks art in modern civilisation from the art of ancient times consists in the absence of what is called *popular art*,—*the art of the people*, hand in hand with everyday handicraft, inseparable from life and use—that spontaneous art of the potter, the weaver, the carver, the mason which our economical, commercial, industrial, competitive, capitalistic system has crushed out of existence by division of labour, the factory system and production for profit." Of course it is true, as Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy says, that "it is fashionable to take a certain interest in art; but that it is almost a matter of fashion is proved by the almost total indifference displayed by the same people in regard to the avoidable ugliness of their daily surroundings. The sordid squalor of London, or any large manufacturing town, the smoking cinder heap they call the 'Black Country'; the misery of the homes of the poor who make wealth, and the vulgarity of the rich who spend it, are alike well nigh inconceivable to any that have not seen them." (Vide *Ceylon National Review*, January 1906, pp. 10-11.) The reason for all this state of things—this degradation of the supreme *art of living*, as it has been called, and the consequent absence of all *popular art* must be sought and found in the very conditions of modern civilisation. For, as pointed out by that great student of social life and of Western Civilisation in particular,—“Modern civilisation is characterised by the tendency of aggregates of capital, in an uncontrolled and irresponsible gamble for profit, governed in the last resort simply by the qualities contributing to success and survival in a free fight for private gain, to control the general exploitation of the natural resources of the world at the level of its lowest standards in human life and human labour.” The prospects of modern art *under the conditions of modern industrial and commercial civilisation* are therefore considered by all competent critics and observers to be very gloomy indeed. Says Dr. Coomaraswamy,—“Even suppose real artists band together for the production of some well-made, well-designed wares; immediately “*commercialism*,” *perceiving a demand*, brings out what is called art-furniture, art-colours, and so forth; sucks the brains of designers, steals their designs and devotes them to objects for which they were never intended—deluging the market with strange travesties and tortured mis-applications of ill-digested ornament which overruns everything like an irresponsible weed.” (Vide *Ceylon National Review*, January, 1906 p. 11.)

PART III

SECTION I : INDIAN EDUCATIONAL AND ALLIED MOVEMENTS

MOVEMENT FOR EDUCATION OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES AND OF THE MASSES GENERALLY—VI

(Continued from pp. 50-53 of the May, 1910 number)

The Depressed Classes in the Southern Presidency

I

The question of elevating the depressed classes by removing their social disabilities and giving them the benefits of education, has been daily acquiring greater and greater importance, and the recently-started Movement in favour of the Depressed classes bids fair to become all-Indian. The growing aspirations of the educated Indians towards the building up of an Indian nationality, the need felt by them for the safe-guarding of Hindu communal interests in the struggle already begun for political rights and privileges, and their growing knowledge of the progressive decline of the numerical strength of the Hindus in comparison with the Mahomedan and the Christian populations due in many instances to the conversion of the Hindu depressed classes to Christianity or Mahomedanism,—all these several factors have combined to stimulate and strengthen the Movement in favour of the Depressed classes. Besides, there is also the fact that since the inauguration of the Swadeshi Movement and as a result of it, the depressed classes themselves in some parts of the country, at any rate, have been awakened to a sense of duty to their own folk. Thus, in East and West Bengal this last mentioned cause has been specially operative. For, as we have seen in one of our previous issues, the *Namasudras* of East Bengal who mainly form the depressed classes of that province, have become fired with a new enthusiasm to raise themselves, and influenced by the leaders of their own community among whom are a fairly large number of doctors and other educated gentlemen, they have taken a determined stand to acquire their rightful position in Hindu Society. In fact, it is this circumstance supplemented by the other considerations to which we have made reference, which is more directly responsible for the growth of the movement in Bengal than any great ethical development of ideas in this part of the country.

II

Such is our view of the state of things in Bengal, Outside Bengal, the condition of things varies somewhat from Province to Province. In studying the condition of the Depressed classes, the following points require to be taken into account :—(1) the numerical strength of these submerged classes outside the pale of the caste system ; (2) the ratio of their number to the rest of the caste population ; (3) the character of the attitude taken up by the caste population towards the non-caste population as revealed in their social relations ; and lastly, (4) the social life lived by the non-caste population

among themselves in their own communities. Having studied in some of the previous issues of this magazine, the state of the movement in East and West Bengal in favour of the depressed classes, we desire to proceed to a study of it in the Southern or the Madras presidency (including the Native Indian States of Hyderabad, Mysore, Cochin and Travancore) from the points of view just mentioned. It will be seen as we proceed that the problem to be attacked in the Southern Presidency is considerably complex and requires most delicate and sustained handling. With these prefatory words we proceed to describe the state of things as it obtains in that part of the country.

III

(1) *Numerical Strength of the "Untouchable" Classes in the Southern Presidency*:—According to Mr. V. R. Shinde, General Secretary of the Depressed Classes Mission Society of India, Bombay, and one of the pioneers of the Depressed Class Movement in India and an earnest and devoted worker, the total "untouchable" population of India is over fifty-three millions, the total population of India coming up to about twenty-nine crores and a half according to the *Census* of 1901. There are other classes also, whose touch may not pollute the higher Hindu castes, but whose civil condition and social status are far from being satisfactory, and they may also be taken as coming under the broad division of the "Depressed Classes," and their number being added to that of the "untouchables," the total number of the depressed class people will be much larger still. Of the total population of fifty-three millions of the untouchable or the depressed classes (taking the lower number), the Presidency of Madras alone together with the Native Indian States of Hyderabad, Mysore, Cochin and Travancore contains no less than nineteen millions of "untouchables" *i.e.* over a third of the total untouchable population of India. We have included herein the Native Indian States of Mysore, Cochin, Travancore and Southern and Eastern parts of Hyderabad, as the depressed classes of the population of these States do not differ in any way from the same type of population in the Southern Presidency.

It is hardly necessary to state that the depressed classes are not recognised as coming under the four broad divisions of the Hindu caste system, though by religion they are mostly Hindus. They are below the *Sudras* in the social scale and constitute a *Panchama* *i.e.*, fifth caste in South-Indian Hindu social polity, the untouchable population in South India having acquired the distinctive name of *Panchamas*. Further they are subdivided among themselves into five and more classes. The subdivisions as prevailing in the Native Indian State of Cochin are given below as being fairly representative:—(1) *Kammalan*; (2) *Ilhvan* or *Tiyyan*, *Valaiyan* (*Valan*), *Shanan*, etc; (3) *Kanakkan*; (4) *Paraiyan* (*Paraiah*) *Pulayan* or *Cheruman*; (5) *Nayati*, *Malayan*, etc. We have not exhausted here the subdivisions among the untouchable population in the Madras Presidency and they are a fairly large lot, seeing that the total of the untouchable population in the Presidency is no less than nineteen millions.

(2) *Ratio of the number of the untouchable classes in the Southern Presidency to the caste population*:—The ratio of the untouchables in the Madras Presidency in which we shall include for reasons already stated the untouchable population of the Native Indian States—is one to three, the total population coming up to about 58 millions in all. In other words in that part of the country, out of every three persons, one is an "untouchable."

(3) *Character of the Social relations of the non-caste depressed classes to the caste population in the Madras Presidency*:—As regards the social relations subsisting between the depressed classes and higher caste Hindus, we have to note that the former pollute the Sudras (technically known as the Nayers) and all higher castes not merely by touch, but also by *approach* within graded distances. Thus, we learn from the official "*Census Report of Cochin for 1901*" from the pen of Mr. M. Sankara Menon issued under the auspices of the Cochin State, that in that State the approach of a *Kammalan* within a distance of 24 feet pollutes all castes above them from the highest Brahman to the lowest Sudra (Nayar). Similarly, all the castes of the *Illuvan* group, the *Kanakkan* group and the *Paraiyan* group pollute all castes between the Brahmans and the Sudras by approach within distances of 36 feet, 48 feet and 64 feet respectively. The castes of the *Nayati* group pollute all the higher castes from Brahman to Sudra by approach within a distance of 64 feet, like the castes of the *Paraiyan* group.

It is necessary here to point out that the figures representing the graded distances as given above are authoritative official figures. Mr. B. De, M.A., of the Indian Civil Service writing in the *Indian Review* for March 1910 (pp. 166-67), refers to the subject and quotes figures which appear to us to be considerably exaggerated. Thus he speaks of the *Nayatis* polluting a Brahman within a distance of 300 feet, the *Ullatans* at a distance of 84 feet, and the *Paraiyans* at a distance of about half a furlong or over 300 feet. These figures are quoted by Mr. De from Mr. Anantha Krishna Iyer's work on "Cochin Tribes and Castes." Apparently these figures are not reliable as they differ considerably from those given in the Cochin Census Report issued under authority.

IV

(3) *Character of the Social relations of the non-caste depressed classes to the caste population in the Madras Presidency (continued)*:—This question of *approach*, this system of regulation by graded distances appear to us to have given rise to a considerable number of degrading disabilities from which the depressed classes have long been suffering. Thus, the *Panchamas* cannot reside in the same quarters where the high caste people live; they cannot use the pond where the Brahman washes his body supposed to be endowed with a "superior *aura*" and a "superior heredity;" they cannot touch a well used by the higher caste people and have to wait at a distance keeping their water-pots near the well in order that some high caste persons may be pleased to pour water into them. They

cannot walk freely on the public road ; they cannot enter a Hindu temple but have to stand outside as far away from it as from a person of the higher castes ; they cannot participate in the social and religious festivities of the high caste Hindus ; they are denied the benefits of education by being not allowed to enter schools where students of higher caste people read. To sum up in the language of His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda, (*Vide* His Highness' article in the *Indian Review* for December 1909, p. 185)—“They are denied the advantage of social sympathy and industrial aid. They are debarred from communal co-operation, and the influence for good arising out of free intercourse with their neighbours. We have shut the door of public service against them ; we have withheld from them the full and free use of hospitals, of public inns, public conveyances, wells and even temples.” And to quote His Highness again, “we have not only depressed them, but have so arranged matters that they may always remain so by refusing them education.” Lastly, we are quoting His Highness the Gaekwar, “from the material standpoint, though it is daily becoming more difficult for them to obtain the necessities of life, though prices are tending upwards all over the world, we refuse them opportunities of earning their living. Menial service is denied them, as they cannot touch our food or even enter our houses. They are handicapped in the business world owing to their untouchableness. To sum up, the theory of untouchableness aims at keeping these classes for ever deprived of the benefits of civilisation, the solace of education and society.”

V

(4) *Social life lived by the non-caste people among themselves in their own communities* :—Besides the difficulties arising out of the rules of “touch” and “approach” imposed by the *higher Hindu castes* upon the depressed classes, there are other difficulties which have been brought on by no outside agencies but by the social structure and mental attitude of the *depressed classes themselves*, and which therefore makes the problem of elevating these classes all the more complex and difficult. For, we have to recognise the fact that the principle of “touch” and “approach” which is imposed upon the depressed classes in relation to higher Hindu castes, is also strictly and scrupulously recognised by their different social subdivisions in their internal social conduct. As Mr. B. De aptly points it—“The matter is further complicated by the fact that even these low castes, these despised and submerged classes contend for superiority and precedence among one another.” Thus, of the five groups of castes of the depressed classes already mentioned, namely, (1) Kammalan, (2) Illuvan, (3) Kanakkan, (4) Pulayan and Paraiyan and (5) Nayati, all the castes of the Kammalan and Illuvan groups are polluted by “approach” by the castes of the Kanakkan group. Again, the castes of the first three groups of Kammalan, Illuvan and Kanakkan are polluted by those of the last two groups of the Pulayan and the Nayati by approach within

64 feet. Further, the rules of pollution between the last two groups of castes are no less operative as would appear by the fact that if polluted by the approach of an Ullatan of the last group, a Pulayan (of the fourth group) has to take seven baths and to shed a small quantity of blood from his little finger to remove the pollution. One or two other facts may also be noted. The *Nayatis* although they are the lowest of the depressed castes do not per-take of food prepared by the *Paraiyans* and the *Pulayans* : and the *Parayans* again do not eat at the hands of the *Pulayans*.

It would thus appear that the difficulty is not merely that the higher Hindu castes will not allow the submerged classes to have any kind of social intercourse with them, but that even if the higher caste Hindus were prepared to give those classes the advantage of social intercourse, the latter on their own account will not be able owing to the presence of hard and fast rules of "touch" and "approach" amongst themselves, to stand on a common platform to share the opportunities presented to them.

The last point which we wish to bring out is this :—On account of the rules of *touch* and *approach* prevailing among themselves, the depressed classes *do not at all feel oppressed when the higher Hindu castes impose upon them the same system of rules*. In fact the *Panchamas* believe and feel that every caste has some hereditary rights of its own divinely decreed and that it is perfectly right and proper that it should exercise such right. Naturally, therefore, the depressed classes are eager to *preserve* their respective narrow rights and privileges and naturally also they never think of *acquiring* the rights and privileges enjoyed by the higher castes. They believe that education, higher social position, etc. are the birth-right of high-caste Hindus, and to ask for these things would be to encroach upon other's rights and that it would be simply "unrighteous" for them to do so. That we are not here drawing upon our imagination but reciting sober facts would appear from the following clear evidence. In the last Report ending October 1909, of the *Court Hill Panchama School*, a school under the *Depressed Class Mission Society, Mangalore*, the Secretary, Mr. K. Ranga Rau writes thus : "Two of our school children simultaneously became unwell. One vomitted in the school and went home with fever on, and as the custom goes here, the parents consulted the soothsayer who told them that *the illness was due to God's wrath and the children would die unless withdrawn from school*. The soothsayer's trick had its effect. Not only these two ailing children but a good many others also were withdrawn from the school. In one of our visits to the *Panchama* families, we made an attempt to advise these people on the folly of consulting soothsayers. "My Lord," said one elderly *Panchama*,—to the *Panchama*, higher caste people are all Lords, "Pardon us, we cannot send our children to your Lordship's school. We love our children more than your Lordship's education. *Why should we kill our children by our unrighteousness. For us, low caste men, to behave like higher caste men is certainly unrighteous.*" (Vide *Purity Servant* for December, 1909, pp. 16-17).

To sum up, the difficulties appear to be three-fold. *Firstly*, the higher caste Hindus are not prepared, for caste considerations, to give the depressed classes the advantage of intercourse with their superiors, which is the key-note to all progress. *Secondly*, the depressed classes themselves do not feel the necessity of improving their social status ; and *thirdly*, even if the higher Hindu castes were prepared to extend to the depressed classes the advantage of social intercourse with them, the latter must have to struggle for themselves to remove the rules of "touch" and "approach" from amongst themselves. The problem thus appears to wear a serious aspect and unless strenuous and sustained efforts are made, one does not see how it is to be solved at all. The extreme difficulty and complexity of the situation has impressed many of our workers, and especially social reformers who have left the Hindu fold ; and some among them at any rate would like to adopt drastic measures by preaching a crusade against the Hindu caste system. Thus Mr. B. De from whose article we have already quoted makes no concealment of his thoughts when he criticises the present methods of work, as he does in the following. "It appears to me that, although the wish to raise the depressed classes and to ameliorate their miserable lot is extremely laudable, those who are endeavouring to grapple with the question before attempting to do away with the division of the community into the higher castes are taking the problem at the wrong end ; and any half-hearted attempt to solve it without touching the caste system as a whole is altogether illogical and futile and is bound to end in total failure. It appears to me that the proper way of attacking the problem is to strike at the root of the caste system." (*To be continued*).

SECTION II: STUDENTS' COLUMN

KHANAKUL KRISHNAGAR AND ITS FAMOUS TEMPLE OF GHANTESWAR

I

Khanakul-Krishnagar and its Samaj :—The village of *Khanakul-Krishnagar*, better known as Khanakul, in the district of Hooghly, is in many respects worthy of note. First and foremost, should it be mentioned that in the village of *Radhanagar* which is almost conterminous to it, is the birth-place of Rajah Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of the Brahmo religion and one of the most illustrious representatives of Modern India. The village, *Khanakul*, has also produced a number of distinguished men like the late Babu Prasanna Coomar Sarbadhikary, who rose to be Principal, Govt. Sanskrit College and also Professor at the Presidency College, and the late Babu Suryakumar Sarbadhikary, one of our renowned Calcutta physicians. Among others, who are still living, I may mention in passing such well-known names as those of the Hon'ble Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose, M.A., B.L., Solicitor, High Court, Fellow of the Calcutta University, and a member both of the Imperial Legislative and the

Bengal Legislative Councils ; the Hon'ble Babu Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, M.A., B.L., Solicitor, High Court, Fellow of the University of Calcutta, a member of the University Syndicate, a Secretary of the National Council of Education Bengal, and a member of the Bengal Legislative Council ; Dr. Sureshprasad Sarbadhikary, B.A., M.D., one of the most distinguished surgeons of Calcutta, Babu Bepin Behari Ghosh, B.L., Vakil, High Court, Babu Jalindra Nath Bose, Solicitor, High Court and Babu Kishori Mohan Gupta, M. A., late a Professor of the Bengal National College and at present Professor of Mathematics in the *Hindu Academy* at Daulatpur, in the District of Khulna, a College which is affiliated to the University of Calcutta, and which has for its Secretary that well-known worker, Babu Braja Lal Chakravarty, M. A., B. L., a brilliant product of the Calcutta University and a distinguished Vakil of the Calcutta High Court. Village *Khanakul* boasts also of producing a number of wealthy men, whose success in life has been by means of commercial pursuits carried on in Calcutta and elsewhere.

Khanakul has also acquired a well-earned name for its public activities through that well-known organisation known as the *Khanakul-Krishnagar Samaj* whose office is located in Calcutta. During the recent famine and scarcity which visited *Khanakul-Krishnagar* and a number of villages adjoining, the *Samaj* successfully organised relief work for the suffering population. Nine centres of relief-work were opened within the affected areas and it was with the utmost difficulty that the *Samaj* could save hundreds of widows and deserted old men and children from the jaws of death. In this and other similar ways the *Samaj* has been doing great good to the district.

II

The Temple of Ghanteswar :—*Khanakul* is also famous for its temple, the temple of *Ghanteswar* (*गणेश्वर*) which has enjoyed renown from very ancient times. Popular belief about the antiquity of god *Ghanteswar* is that his *lingamurti* (*लिङ्गमूर्ति*) was established by none and exists at the place from time immemorial and is therefore Anadi (*अनादि*) i.e., without a beginning. Mention is also made of him in the *Sri Mahalingeswar Tantra* in the chapter *Sivasatana-stotra* in the following verses :—

आदित्यो देवनाथो वक्रेश्वरीदेव ।

वीरभूमी विजिनाथो रादे च तारकेश्वरः ॥ २४ ॥

अकेश्वरश्च देवेन्द्र रत्नाकरमदीतटे ।

भागीरथी-मदीतीरे कपाटेश्वर इतिः ॥ २५ ॥

It is on account of the location at *Khanakul* of this temple with its god that the place is regarded as a second Benares. People from far and near flock to the village of *Khanakul* to see god *Ghanteswar*, while hundreds of suffering souls have gone and have been cured of severe illness through the grace of the god,—such is the popular belief in god *Ghanteswar*. The popular mind is

further attracted to the god by the fact that a number of devout souls like Swami Anupnarayan, Srimat Isan Chandra Dev, Sudam Brahmachari and Baoaji obtained *Siddhi* (सिद्धि) i.e., salvation and became *Mukta* by practising *yōga* at the feet of god *Ghanteswar*.

The construction of the temple was begun at the instance of Baoaji, the sage already referred to, by a mason of the neighbouring village of Ubidpur, who left the building half-finished. Srijut Kanailal De was then ordered by god *Ghanteswar* to finish the building, who carried out the god's injunction. The charge of daily worship of the god was then undertaken by the late Dasaratha Batabyal of revered memory, whose successors still hold the same position.

III.

Present Dilapidated Condition of the Temple :—The temple of *Ghanteswar*, which stands on the *Kana* river passing by the village, is a brick-built one. The temple is now in a very dilapidated condition, its base being considerably swallowed up by the encroaching river, year after year, and there was danger of its falling down in course of a few years, had not its repair been undertaken by the *Khanakul-Krishnagar Samaj*. Two distinguished engineers of Calcutta and the District Engineer of Hooghly recently inspected the temple and they were of opinion that the temple could be preserved by means of spur-work, the total expenses coming up to about Rs. 3,500. Accordingly, a fund has been created by the *Khanakul-Krishnagar Samaj* under the name of the *Ghanteswar Bhandar*. The *Banga Dharma Mahamandal* (বঙ্গধর্ম মহামন্ডল) which is a branch of the All-India Hindu organisation, the *Bharat Dharma Mahamandal* (भारतधर्म महामन्डल) of which His Highness the Maharaja of Darbhanga is the President, has also joined hands with the *Khanakul-Krishnagar Samaj* in this matter and has been rendering pecuniary and other help to it for which the *Samaj* is deeply grateful to that body. Thus, a general meeting of the *Banga Dharma Mahamandal* was held on May 15th last, in which it was unanimously resolved,—(1) that a sum of Rs. 50 be subscribed from the funds of the *Mahamandal* to the *Ghanteswar Bhandar*; (2) that in view of the urgency of the work, the Hindu public of Bengal be requested to contribute towards the completion of the same and thereby save a Hindu shrine of venerable antiquity from untimely destruction; (3) that the members of the *Dharma Mandal* be specially requested to exert themselves with a view to raise funds in this behalf; and lastly, (4) that the *Dharma Mandal* through its Secretary, Raja Peary Mohan Mukerjee, M. A., B. L., C. S. I., and Assistant Secretaries, Rai Yatindra Nath Chaudhuri Bahadur, M. A., B. L., and Rai Rajendra Chandra Sastri Bahadur, M. A., do raise funds from the public in co-operation with the authorities of the *Khanakul-Krishnagar Samaj*, who are in special charge of the work.—(To be continued.)

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OLD SERIES
VOL. XIII, No. 9

SEPTEMBER 1910

NEW SERIES
VOL. VI, No. 9

PART I: INDIANA

INDIAN NATIONALISM AND INDIAN ART : THE BEGINNINGS OF A NEW MOVEMENT—III

(Continued from pp. 87-94 of the June, 1910 number.)

I.

In a former issue of this journal we dealt with some of the principal episodes of Indian and Asiatic history which have a bearing on the rise and development of the Mediæval schools of Indian Painting. We saw how the decline of the old religious fervour and spirituality among the children of the soil, coupled with the iconoclastic zeal of the early Muhammadan invaders of Northern India, brought about the decay of the old Hindu-Buddhist art of India, especially of Northern India, during the early years of Muhammadan rule. We also saw how the beginnings of a new Indian art of miniature painting originally derived from Persia, were laid at the court of the Great Mughals of Delhi, and how this introduction of Persian painting into India was but part of a larger work that the Mongol races were instrumental in carrying out as the carriers of the elements of civilisation from one nation to another. As already remarked in our previous article, this new art is sometimes designated as the 'Moghul,' and sometimes the 'Indo-Persian,' school of painting. Imperfect as each of these designations is by itself as a satisfactory characterisation of the Mediæval schools of Indian Painting they together serve to indicate all the influences that were responsible for their rise and subsequent development in India, viz the Mughal, the Persian, and last, though not the least, the Indian. The Mughals or Mongols were not themselves endowed with any considerable amount of artistic culture or talents, and

their contribution to the growth and development of Mediæval Indian Art consisted principally in the enlightened patronage and protection which they extended to it from generation to generation. It is the circumstance that this new art of miniature painting was first introduced into India by the Mughal rulers of Delhi, at whose courts, and under whose guidance and patronage it flourished through six generations and received its highest development, it is this circumstance that has led to the art itself being styled Mughal. On the other hand the essential elements in the new art are either Persian or Indian. For in the first place, the art, with its characteristic technique, style, and range of subjects, was originally developed in Persia under entirely Persian influences, and even when fostered by Mughal patronage, whether in Samarkhand, or in India, was originally almost entirely in the hands of Persian artists. But the Indian elements in the new art are equally, if not more, important and essential. For the art as we shall see, received its highest development in the hands of Indian painters, Hindu as well as Muhammadan, who not only effected improvements in style and technique, but, what is of greater importance, greatly extended its scope and range of appeal by drawing upon the inexhaustible treasure-house of Indian life and experience. And this is specially true of those Hindu Schools of Mediæval Painting such as flourished in the Kangra Valley and at the Rajput courts, which deal mainly with Hindu religious subjects in a style which, though closely allied to the Persian school, was yet characterised by some definite marks of a purely indigenous tradition.*

II.

We have already spoken of the importation of Persian art to India. The influence of Persian art and of Persian culture generally was in those days almost of a world-wide character. Such influence extended from Asia to Africa and even to Europe ; for it embraced within its scope not only the nations of Western and Central Asia but also those of Northern Africa and Turkey in Europe and also of distant Spain and Sicily. The importation of Persian art and literature to India, therefore, was part of a larger movement affecting the whole of the Islamic world. Islam in those days was already the faith of a very large section of the human race. It embraced within its fold large masses of the population of each of the three continents of the Old World, viz., Asia, Africa and Europe, from India and Turkestan in the East, to Morocco and

* See Dr. Coomaraswamy, "Mediæval Indian Painting," *Modern Review* April 1910.

Spain in the West. Thus its adherents were drawn from almost all of the great ethnic types of the Old World, viz., (1) *The Arabs* or Saracens drawn from the Shemitic race who furnished the original impulse and who within an amazingly short period imposed their faith and dominion on Asia Minor, Persia, Egypt, Morocco and Spain; (2) *the Persians* or Iranians drawn from the Indo-Aryan race, who, though subdued politically and ecclesiastically by the Arabs, and later by the Turks and Mongols, for more than eight centuries (642-1499 A. D.), were yet by virtue of their superior artistic and literary culture, destined to exert a powerful influence on their rulers; and (4) the nomadic *Turks and Mongols* drawn from the Turanian * races of Central Asia and Mongolia, who not only supplanted the Saracenic rule in Persia and Asia Minor, but carried the Moslem flag on the one side to European Turkey where they established the Sultanate of Constantinople, and on the other to Afghanistan and India, where they founded the so-called Pathan (but really Turkish) and the Moghul Empires respectively; besides these there were the Copts of Egypt and the Berbers of North Africa; the latter of whom, combined with Saracenic blood, went to form the Moorish race who held sway in Morocco and Spain. So when we speak of Persian art and culture having exercised its sway all over the Muhammadan world, † we are to understand that it influenced not only the early Saracenic or Arab rulers of Baghdad, Egypt and Spain, but also the Turanian Turks and Mongols who held sway for considerable periods in Persia, India, Afghanistan, and Central Asia. ‡

Says Major R. Murdoch Smith, R. E., in his *South Kensington Museum Art Hand-book on Persian Art* (p. 3) :—

* The regions north of the Hindukush, now generally known as Tartary or Turkistan, was called by the ancient Persians *Turan*, after Tour, a legendary Persian prince. *Iran* was the ancient name of Persia.

† The influence of Persian culture on the Saracenic Khalifate, and through it on the whole world of Islam, began to increase in strength and importance since the foundation of the Abbasside Khalifate at Baghdad (750 A.D.), which was as a rule favourably disposed to the intelligent and cultured Persians. But the true renaissance of Persian culture, especially of Persian literature, dates from the foundation of the Samanid house of Khorasan in 902 A. D., at whose court, and subsequently at the court of the Ghaznavide house under Sultan Mahmud and his successors, modern Persian literature first began to flourish, and attained its full development.

‡ Sultan Mahmud, the Turkish ruler of Ghazni, was a great patron of Persian literature, and at his court lived a number of Persian poets and learned men among whom was Firdousi, the author of the *Shahnama*, the great national epic of Persia. Many of the greatest Persian poets lived under, and were patronised by the Seljuq Turks who ruled in Persia for a considerable period.

"The successors and followers of Mahomed were after all but rude Bedouins who gradually acquired culture from contact with the more refined countries which they overran. The powerful Abbaside Khalifs of Baghdad no doubt summoned to their court men of science and learning from all countries under their sway, Persia furnishing them with architects and other artists. Skilled Persian workmen were no doubt employed in large numbers in decorating the mosques and palaces in the Arab capital situated as it was on the very frontier of their own country. Thence we believe arose the so-called Arabian or Arabesque style of ornament, afterwards so widely spread and now so well known. The peculiar pendent ornamentation of vaults and niches, of which the Alhambra is so typical an example is identical in style with that used throughout Persia down to the present day : and specimens of which in plaster have been found in the ruins of Rhages (near Tcheran in Persia), a city finally destroyed 600 years ago. Persia, always an artistic country, could hardly have borrowed it from her rude conquerors. The Arabs no doubt modified the art derived from the Persians, the modifications being much influenced by their intense hatred of anything approaching idolatry. The Persians, however, even during their greatest religious fervour, never lost their taste for all kinds of ornament, including representations of actual natural objects. *The Arabs themselves were probably never an artistic people*, although many of their rulers were distinguished patrons and propagators of art and science. It is far from improbable that the Alhambra itself was chiefly the work of Persians, who stood to the Arabs in much the same relation that the Greeks did to the Romans." The same superiority of the Persians to the Arabs in artistic capacity, and its persistence through all the changing vicissitudes of their political history down to the present day is emphasised by the author only a few lines below :—"Unlike the Arabs, the Persians have always been and still are, artistic. After every great political convulsion, art naturally declined, but only to arise in some new form as soon as the country had enjoyed a period of settled internal government and external peace."

Having in this way explained the relation of inferiority and dependence in which the Arabs stood to the Persians in the matter of art, Major Smith goes on to indicate a similar inferiority, in artistic talent and capacity, of the Turanian or Turkish races who conquered and settled in Persia after the Arabs. Speaking of these Turanian settlers he says :—"The Turanian or Turkish element in the population, although politically and religiously amalgamated with the Persian, has, however, never imbibed the artistic idiosyncracies of the latter. *Works*

of art are almost exclusively confined to the parts of the country inhabited by the old Aryan stock ; that is to say, to the centre, south, and east."

III

It was when Persian literature and art had already won its place as the dominant cultural influence in the Islamic world, that the successive Mongol hordes of Chengiz (1222 A. D.) and Hulagu Khan (1258 A. D.) came down like an avalanche on the fair cities and plains of Iran (Persia). With the settling down of the turmoil attending the times of invasion and conquest, the descendants of the Mongol conquerors, notably Timur Lang, became, like the Saracenic Khalifs of Baghdad, patrons and promoters of art and science. Thus not only were the artists of the different Persian cities encouraged and patronised, but Samarkhand itself, the capital of Timur, became the centre of a new school of art, which, though essentially Persian, yet shows strong marks of Chinese influence imported by the Mongols. And just as the Saracens or Arabs had spread the influence of Persian art towards the west, in Egypt, Asia Minor, Sicily and even Spain, * so the Mongol or Mughal house of Samarkhand, spread it eastwards to India, especially in the form of a school of miniature painting, both as practised in its pure Persian form in Persian centres like Tabriz and Khorasan, and as infused with Chinese elements at Samarkhand, Herat and other Mongol centres in Central Asia.

It was in the days of Babar the Great founder of the Mughal Empire in India, that many of the artist families from Persian art-centres like Tabriz and Khorasan, as well as from Samarkhand and other centres of Mongol influence in Central Asia, migrated to and settled in India where they found employment at the imperial court. Large numbers of beautifully illuminated and illustrated manuscripts of Persian books, copied and decorated by the celebrated calligraphists and artists of Persia, were also imported to India by the Moghul conquerors. For India received during these years of Muhammadan rule not only the Persian art of miniature painting, but the whole of the many-sided literary, artistic and spiritual culture of the Persians. Thus in music, we have the evidence of Abul Fazl himself who gives in his *Ain-i-Akbari* a list of Persian musicians from Meshed, Shiraz and other centres of Persian culture, who, along with a number of Hindu musicians headed by the famous Tan Sen, graced the court

* For the presence of Persian elements in the Saracenic arts of these countries see an article on "Animate Life in Early Arabic Art" by Bernard and Ellen M. Whishaw, *Nineteenth Century and After*, June 1910.

of Akbar, where they practised both vocal and instrumental music, some of the instruments being distinctively Persian.* Again in Architecture, the so-called Indo-Saracenic styles in which Muhammadan mosques, tombs and palaces were built all over India, bears strong marks of Persian influence, inasmuch as they were modifications of the Arab style, especially as developed in Persia on the basis of the Sassanian style now represented by the remains at Sarvistan and other places in the province of Fars (in Persia).† Evidences of more direct influence are not wanting. The great mosque which Jahangir built at Lahore is in the Persian style, covered with enamelled tiles, an art which was derived from Persia.‡ And among the architects whom Shah Jahan imported from the various countries of Western Asia for building the *Taj Mahal*, under the supervision of, and in collaboration with, his Indian architects, were a considerable number of Persians who hailed from the different centres of Persian art.¹ Again in the field of the decorative arts, there are a number of local developments in particular industries in different parts of India, especially in Kashmir, the Punjab, and Sind, which bear the impress of Persian influence. Among such may be mentioned particular aspects of the carpet industry of Northern India, of the ceramic arts of Multan and Sindh, of the copper and brass-ware industry of Kashmir, as well as of the arts of calligraphy and Mss. illumination.² In the sphere of Religion we have that characteristic Persian development of Islam *viz.* Sufi-ism, which, with its mystical and emotional emphasis, so much facilitated the mutual rapprochement between Hindu and Moslem thought in Mediæval India. And, lastly in the department of Persian Literature we have to note that it had already under scholarly Pathan rulers like Nasiruddin, Muhammad Tughlak, Feroz Tughlak, and the Sharqi Kings of Jaunpur, obtained a firm foothold among the Indian Muhammadans, long before the Mughals entered the scene. The famous Persian poet, Malik Khusru (13th century), lived at the court of Ghiyasuddin Balban of the Slave Dynasty, having left his native country at the time of the Mongol invasions.³ And the Sharqi kings had become so celebrated for their patronage of Persian learning that their capital Jaunpur was styled the Shiraz of

* *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, Blochmann's Translation, p. 611.

† V. A. Smith, in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, revised edition, vol. II., p. 125.

‡ Burgess, in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. II. p. 199.

1. Havell's *Essays on Indian Art, Industry and Education*, p. 10, and his *Handbook to Agra and the Taj*.

2. Watt's *Indian Art at Delhi*, pp. 56, 91, 425 and 442.

3. Irvine, in the *Imperial Gazetteer* Vol. II, p. 36.

India, Shiraz being the greatest centre of Persian Literature, the home of some of the greatest of Persian poets, such as Sadi and Hafiz.*

IV.

The influence of Persian art and literature, and of Persian culture generally, on India during those years of Muhammadan, and specially of Mughal rule, is apparent. We have seen that in the time of Babar as the result of such influence there was a considerable importation of illuminated Persian manuscripts and of Persian and Mongol artists who employed themselves in painting beautiful pictures in brilliant colours touched with gold to decorate and illustrate the manuscript texts, which were copied by the skilled calligraphists of the period. From the days of Babar to those of Akbar these foreign artists, Persian as well as Mongol, seemed to be the only painters engaged at the Mughal court; but according to competent critics, their art, in spite of some characteristic merits, was very often stiff and formal, and at best amounted to a beautiful scheme of manuscript illumination.† It was in India and by the infusion of Indian elements that the art reached the freedom and spontaneity of a living art of painting. The process was already begun in the court of Akbar where we find a considerable number of Hindu artists working side by side with Musalmans, some of whom hailed from Tabriz and Shiraz. Akbar was an enlightened patron of the art, and encouraged it according to his lights, by an elaborate system of examinations and rewards. On the merit of the artists of his time, and especially of the Hindu painters, Abul Fazl has the following remarks in his *Ain-i-Akbari*:—"More than a hundred painters have become famous masters of the art, whilst the number of those who approach perfection, or those who are middling, is very large. *This is especially true of the Hindus: their pictures surpass our conception of things. Few indeed are found equal to them.*" Of the work done by the painters at Akbar's court the following account is given in the same work:—"The number of masterpieces of painting increased with the encouragement given to the art. Persian books, both prose and poetry, were ornamented with pictures, and a very large number of paintings were thus collected. The story of Hamzah was represented in twelve volumes, and clever painters made the most astonishing illustrations for no less than one thousand and four hundred passages of the

* V. A. Smith, *School History of India*.

† *Vide* Havell's *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 190; and Dr. Coomaraswamy's article on "Mediæval Indian Painting" in *The Modern Review* for April, 1910.

story. The Chingiz-namah, the Zafar-namah,* this book (Ain-i-Akbari), the Razm-namah,† (i.e. "The Book of Wars" being the Persian translation of the Mahabharata), the Ramayana, the 'Nal Daman,'‡ the 'Kalilah Damnah,'** the 'Ayar Danish,' etc., were all illustrated. His Majesty himself sat for his likeness, and also ordered to have the likeness taken of all the grandees of the realm. An immense album was thus formed; those that have passed away have received a new life, and those who are still alive have immortality promised them."

V

The best fruits of Akbar's policy of patronage were realised not in his own time but in the times of his son Jahangir and grandson Shah Jahan, both of whom continued the policy of their illustrious predecessor. The best work of the Mughal School was produced during these two reigns. Jahangir's memoirs contain many evidences of the keen personal and even affectionate interest which he took in his court painters and their work. He treated them as intimate friends and frequently bestowed upon them the highest distinctions. Jahangir himself tells us that he raised Sherif Khan, the son of Abdul Hamad one of Akbar's portrait-painters—who had grown up with him from infancy and upon whom, while heir-apparent, he had conferred the title of Khan, to the position of premier grandee of the empire.†† Among other famous

* A History of the House of Timur by Sharfuddin of Yazd (died 1446).

† This Persian version of the Mahabharata was composed under Akbar's order under the superintendence of Naqib Khan, Maulana Abdul Kadir of Badaon (generally known as Badaoni), Shaikh Sultan Hāji of Thanesar, and Mullah Sheri. Sheikh Faizi translated two chapters, Akbar himself translated some passages for two nights, and Abul Fazl wrote a preface. A splendidly illuminated copy of this work executed for Akbar himself at a cost of £40,000, is now in the possession of the Maharaja of Jaipur. (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., Note on p. 105) and Havell's *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 107.

‡ The Persian version of the story of Nala and Damayanti, rendered from Sanskrit by Shaikh Faizi Fayyazi, the celebrated scholar, brother of Abul Fazl. The book was a favourite with Akbar and was put among the set of books regularly read out to his Majesty.

** The Arabic version of the *Panchatantra*, the famous Indian book of fables. The Arabic version (750 A. D.) itself was based on a previous Pehlvi (or old Persian) version dating from the sixth century. The book has been translated into no less than seventeen languages, viz. Pehlvi, Syriac, Tibetan, Arabic, Greek, Persian, Hebrew, Latin, Spanish, Italian, Slavonic, Turkish, German, English, Danish, Dutch, and French, the French version completed in 1778 being the latest in point of time.

Ayar Danish is a Persian version of the Arabic *Kalilah Damnah* executed by Abul Faal himself. Two other Persian versions had already been made before his time.

†† Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 197.

painters of his court he mentions in his Memoirs one Abul-Hassan who was born in his household, and whom he gave such education that "he became one of the most distinguished men of the age and a painter of beautiful portraits." Another great master was Mansur, some of whose exquisite studies of birds preserved in the Calcutta Art Gallery have been declared by experts as "rivalling the work of the best Japanese masters."*

No less distinguished was Shah Jahan, whose buildings at Agra and Delhi mark the highwater mark of Indo-Saracenic architecture, for the patronage he extended to this art of Painting. Some of the excellent pictures executed at his court by way of book illustration are preserved in some Mss. in the Bankipur Oriental Library, particularly in a richly illustrated copy of the *Tarikh-i-Khandani Timuri*, a history of the house of Timur composed in the time of Akbar, the pictures however in this particular copy dating from the reign of Shah Jahan. Some of the paintings from this book have been reproduced in the translation of the *Memoirs of Gulbadan Begam* (sister of Humayun), published in the *Oriental Translation Series* of the Royal Asiatic Society.

VI

A serious blow was given to the art when the orthodox and iconoclastic Aurangzeb inaugurated a policy of Puritanical crusade not only against the image worship of the Hindus, but also against the fine arts of Painting and Music as practised at the Mughal Court itself. Not only were the distinguished artist families, both Hindu and Muhammadan, which had enjoyed the enlightened patronage of the Mughal Court since the days of Babar, deprived of all State encouragement, but they were denounced as infidels and heretics. The masterpieces of Indian sculpture and fresco-painting were mutilated and defaced on the ground that they offended against the precepts of the faith, and very few indeed escaped the ruthless hands of Aurangzeb's fanatical followers. The result was a visible decline at the imperial centre, not only in the arts of painting and music, but also in the characteristic Mughal art of architecture.†

But the patronage thus denied to the arts at the imperial centre, was liberally extended to them at the courts of those Hindu Rajput princes who had all along, thanks to the conciliatory policy of Akbar, been intimately associated with the Mughal Court and administration, but were now alienated by the adverse policy of Aurangzeb. The

* Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, pp. 198 and 214.

† Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 13

most brilliant perhaps of these Rajput art-centres were Jaipur and Alwar, where Hindu and Musalman artists worked side by side at the illustrations, not only of Hindu mythological and epic lore, but also of Persian romance and poetry. *

The art was also cultivated at the courts of some of the independent Muhammadan dynasties that rose on the ruins of the Mughal Empire. Such were, among others, the Nizams of Hyderabad, and the Nawabs of Lucknow, under whose patronage grew up what are known as the Hyderabad and Lucknow schools respectively. Among other local centres of the art might be mentioned Benares, Lahore, and Patna, each of which developed a distinctive style of its own. † But the most vital of the various local schools that occupied the field during the later 17th and 18th centuries was the distinctively Hindu school of Kangra (of which we shall speak more at length in a future issue), dealing mostly with Hindu religious subjects, which produced very characteristic pictures until about 50 years ago, and which seems to have been least indebted to the influence and patronage of the Delhi court.

We have thus traced in brief outline the history of the rise, growth, and subsequent decline of the Mughal art of Delhi and Agra, down to the point when it gave rise to a number of important sub-schools, Hindu as well as Muhammadan, in different parts of India, sub-schools which have continued its existence down to quite recent times, and we have also noticed the existence of a more or less indigenous Hindu school in the Kangra valley. With this preparation we shall in our future sections be able to examine in greater detail the essential character of Mediæval Indian Painting, and to review in the light of that examination the actual examples shown in the Exhibition of last winter.

DAWN MAGAZINE }
OFFICE. }

RABINDRA NARAYAN GHOSH, M.A.

* A copy of the *Gulistan* belonging to the Maharaja of Alwar, and valued at Rs. 1,75,000 was written for one of his ancestors by one Agha Mirza of Delhi, the borders being designed and painted by Nathu Shah and Kari Abdur Rahman of Delhi, the illustrations being painted by Ghulam Ali Khan (Muhammadan) and Baldeo (Hindu), artists of Alwar. (Watt's *Indian Art at Delhi*, p. 487, and Hendley, *Ulwar and its Art Treasures*, chap. 9).

† Percy Brown, "The Mogul School of Painting," in the *Nineteenth Century*, January, 1910.

SHIP-BUILDING AND MARITIME ACTIVITY IN BENGAL—I

(To be read with the series of articles on "Maritime Activity and Enterprise in Ancient India" already appearing in this Journal.)

I

In a series of articles on the relations between India and China from very ancient times, and the intercourse between the two countries by sea, we have endeavoured to prove that the people of India went out on colonising and commercial adventures on the ocean from very remote antiquity. We have not exhausted our subject; but the reader who has followed our exposition must have seen that Indians must have had their own ships and their own ports to make possible the frequent and intimate intercourse by sea with distant countries for centuries and centuries. It would, no doubt, help the reader very much if we can adduce, and in greater detail, from further direct, clear and unimpeachable evidence the existence of dockyards and ports in parts of India—say, for instance, in a province like Eastern Bengal. We have already dealt in a previous issue on the ancient port of *Tamralipti* (modern Tamruk) in Western Bengal whose glories faded in the eighth or ninth century A. D., but there is a great deal of further evidence and this we proceed to place before the reader. The present article, therefore, would be in a sense complementary to the other series on India and China, which is not yet completed. After we have dealt with the evidence of ships and ship-building in Eastern Bengal, it will be possible for us to take up another part of India which in earlier times was an emporium of trade with foreign countries and where also we will find similar evidences of ships and ship-building. In this manner it would be made clear that in days not long gone by India was a country which could boast of having the skill and the capacity for the construction of ships and the repairing of ships and so on.

Modern research, working out from inscriptions, coins, copper-plate grants, works in Sanskrit literature, and the narratives of the journeys of foreign travellers, Asiatic and European, has been able to show quite conclusively that the people of Eastern Bengal used ships both for commercial purposes and for war, and that ship-building was an art largely practised in that province from very remote times up to the end of the last century. It appears to us that if we begin with our evidence from the 18th and 19th centuries tracing the whole course, as far as our present materials permit, backwards till we reach the evidence of inscriptions of the 6th century A. D. and even earlier, we shall have placed before the reader an account of our subject, at once fascinating and convincing.

II

Thus, the port of Chittagong had its ship-building yards in an active condition even at the end of the last century. Dr. W. W. Hunter in his *Statistical Accounts of Bengal* gives some statistics of the last years of ship-building at that port: "Ship-building† was," says he, "till the year 1873, carried on to a considerable extent at Chittagong. In 1860-61, sixteen vessels were built of a total burthen of 2036 tons; and in 1870-71, six vessels of a total burthen of 1028 tons. In the year 1873-74, only four vessels were built; and in 1874-75, only one vessel of 286 tons" (*Ibid* vol. VI, p. 192). "In 1853," we quote from the same author, "Mr. Currie of the Board of Revenue described the port as a ship-owning rather than a trading place" (*Ibid*, p. 191). In the 16th century when the Portuguese first came to Bengal they found Chittagong a very large port and gave it the name of *Porto Grando* * and the European travellers who visited the country from this time forward speak in glowing terms of the grandeur of the foreign trade done in the port and of the large number of ships that it built and sent out over the sea.

We shall, however, go back at once to the early years of the 15th century when we meet with a Chinese account of Bengal by a Muhammadan Chinaman named *Mahuan*, who on account of his knowledge of Arabic was attached as Interpreter to the suite of the Chinese ambassador, *Cheng-ho*, who was sent in 1405 A. D. to open commercial relations with the various kingdoms of the Western Ocean by the Emperor *Yung-lo*. The Chinese embassy on its way to India *via* Sumatra put up at the port of Chittagong; and *Mahuan* in his account of Bengal speaks in unqualified terms of the extensive foreign trade and ship-building activities of the people of the country at this time. Says he,—“The rich (among the people of Bengal) build ships in which they carry on commerce with foreign nations; many are engaged in trade and a goodly number occupy themselves with agricultural pursuits; while others exercise their crafts as mechanics” (*Vide* *Mahuan's Account of the Kingdom of Bengal* translated by Mr. George Phillips in the J. R. A. S., 1895, p. 530). And again,—“the King fits out ships and sends them to foreign countries to trade. Pearls and precious stones are sent

† These statistics about the last ships built at Chittagong no doubt include those constructed for European builders who, we know, had constructed docks there in the early years of the last century on account of the special ship-building facilities of the port. About the capacity of the Indians in designing and building big modern trading or line-of-battle ships, we should refer the reader to the account of the Government Dock-yard at Bombay at page 159 following.

* *Vide The Imperial Gazetteer of India, New Edition, 1908, vol X, p. 317.*

as tribute to China" (*Ibid* p. 531). Sixty years before Mahuan, about 1346 A. D., the great Arab traveller, *Ibn Batuta*—who had arrived at the same port of Chittagong (*Vide* quotation from *Ibn Batuta* below) from the Maldives off the coast of Malabar, says in the account of his travels speaking of Eastern Bengal,—“The people of Bengal maintain a number of vessels on the river (*i. e.* the united waters of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra) with which they engage in war against the inhabitants of *Laknaoti* (Gaur).” *Ibn Batuta* also says that sea-shells, (*cowries*) were carried by sea from the Maldives to the province of Bengal, where they were bartered for rice and were used there as coins. Speaking of *Ibn Batuta* and the commerce of Bengal at the time, the German savant, Professor Christian Lassen says in his monumental work, *Indische Altertumskunde*, vol. IV, page 889, “The next land that he happens to mention is Bengal. Our traveller visited it at about 1346, and found that between itself and the southernmost Dekkan a most lively trade had sprung up, and similarly also with China.”¹ It would be clear from the following quotation that Batuta had come to Chittagong by sea from the Maldives and he proceeded on his journey to China via Java from *Sonargaon* (near Dacca), at the time the Muhammadan capital of Eastern Bengal: “Having sailed at last (from the Maldives) we were at sea for 43 days, and then we arrived in Bengal. The first city of Bengal which we entered was called *Sadkuwan i. e.* Chittagong a big place on the shore of the great sea.” Again, he says of his return journey, “At the end of 15 days’ voyage (down the Brahmaputra) we arrived at the city of *Sunur Kaway* (*i. e.* Sonargaon). On our arrival we found a junk which was just going to sail for the country of Java distant 40 days’ voyage”².

The accounts of *Mahuan* (1405 A. D.) also shows that there was a regular and intimate intercourse by sea between China and Bengal at the time and it is found that the Eastern Bengal port of Chittagong had supplanted the earlier *Tamralipti*, as the port which carried on the bulk of the maritime trade with China and the islands in the Malay Archipelago. The route to Bengal from China *via* Sumatra is described by *Mahuan* in the following words: “The kingdom of *Pang-ko-la*, Bengala, is reached by ship from the kingdom of *Su-men-ta-la* (in Sumatra) as follows: A course is shaped for the

(1) The above is a translation from the original German by the present writer. *Indische Altertumskunde* is in English *Indian Archaeology*.

(2) *Vide*, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah, Texte Arabe accompagné d'une Traduction*. (The Travels of Ibn Batuta) the Arabic text accompanied by a translation in French by M. M. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, Paris 1853, Vol. I, p. vi, and Vol. IV, p. 246 ff.

Maoshan, (an island off Sumatra), and *Tsui-lan* islands the (Nicobars) ; these being reached, the vessel then has to steer north-west, and being favoured with a fair wind for twenty-one days, arrives first at *Cheh-ti-gan* (Chittagong), where she anchors. Small boats are then used to ascend the river, up which, at a distance of 500 *li* (approximately 166 miles) or more, one arrives at a place called *Sona-urh-kong* (Sonargaon or Suvarnagrama), where one lands ; travelling from which place in a south-westerly direction for 35 stages about (105 miles) the kingdom of Bengala is reached * (*Vide* J. R. A. S., 1895, p. 529).

The reader may compare with this description the route marked out by *I-tsing* in the 7th century as given at page 109, of the July, 1910 number of this magazine.

III

Coming now to the Island of *Sandwip* in the immediate neighbourhood of the port of Chittagong, included at present in the district of Noakhali, we find that there were *extensive arrangements for the building of ships* not only to supply the local demand but also to meet the orders of distant foreign princes. A century and a half from *Mahuan*, i.e., about the middle of the 16th century, the Venetian traveller *Cesar Frederick* who on his way from Pegu to Chittagong was cast in August, 1569, by a *touffan* or terrible storm on the Island of *Sandwip*, says that in that Island—"Two hundred ships were laden yearly with salt, and that *such was the abundance of materials for ship-building in this part of the country that the Sultan of Constantinople found it cheaper to have his vessels built here, than at Alexandria*" (*Vide A Sketch of the Topography and Statistics of Dacca* by Dr. James Taylor, Calcutta, 1840, pp. 70 and 71). The English traveller, "Herbert, also about eighty years afterwards, designates *Sandwip* as one of the fairest and most beautiful spots in all India" (*Ibid* p. 71).

IV

Besides the well-known commercial towns of Chittagong and Sonargaon to which there are innumerable references, the European travellers speak of some large ports which are now no longer heard of. Among them the most important was the great city of *Bangala*. Lodovico di Varthema, an Italian traveller who journeyed in India at the beginning of the 16th century (1503 to 1508) refers to the city of *Bangala* in the following words:—"From Tarnassari (Tennasserim) we took the route towards the city of *Bangalla* at which we arrived in eleven days. This city was one of the best that I had hitherto seen. Here there are the richest merchants ever met with. *Fifty ships are laden every year in this place with Cotton and Silk stuffs*. These same

stuffs go through all Turkey, through Syria, Persia, Arabia Felix, Ethiopia, and through all India. There are also here very great merchants in jewels, which come from other countries." He also met here two Christians from China with whom he went from here to Pegu.¹

Another European traveller, Barbosa, journeying in India about the same time says of the same town: "The sea forms a gulf which bends towards the north, at the head of which is situated a great city which is called *Bengala* with a good port. The country being very extensive, and the climate temperate, many persons frequent it, and *all are great merchants, who possess large ships* like those of Mecca, and some like those of China called *Giunchi* (*i. e.* junks), which are very large and carry large cargoes, and with these they navigate towards Coromandel, Malabar, Cambay, Tenasserim, Sumatra, Zeilam and Malacca, and they trade with all kinds of merchandize from one place to the other."²

In a geographical work of the same period, the *Sommerio de Regni, etc.*, it is said that "the town of *Bengala* contains 40,000 hearths," while speaking of the rival port of *Satgaon* in Western Bengal, it says that the latter port contained 10,000 hearths.³ These quotations about the grandeur of *Bengala* might be multiplied very easily. But scholars differ as to the locality occupied by this once great city. Major Rennell, the celebrated geographer and cartographer, and Mr. George Percy Badger, the editor of the English translation of the *Travels of Varthema*, believe it to have been near the eastern mouth of the Ganges (*i. e.* the embouchure of the Meghna) and that the site of it has been carried away by the river.⁴ While Dr. Taylor thinks that the quarter of *Bangla Bazar* in the modern town of Dacca is a remnant of the once famous city of *Bengala*, and that Dacca occupies much of the site of that town.⁵

V

Before concluding this, the first Part of our article on the subject of ship-building by Bengalis in days gone by, we are tempted to point out that in Western India, in the Government Docks of Bombay itself, for over a whole century, from about the middle of the 18th to about the middle of the 19th, the construction of large ships for commercial

(1) Vide *The Travels of Lodovico di Varthema* in Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Persia, India and Ethiopia (A. D. 1503 to 1508), translated from the original Italian edition of 1510 with a preface by John Winter Jones Esq, F. S. A., and edited with Notes and an Introduction by George Percy Badger, London 1863, page 210.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. cxiv. (3) *Ibid.*, p. cxv. (4) *Ibid.*, p. lxxx, and Vide Rennell's *Memoir of the Map of Hindostan*, p. 57.

(5) Vide *Topography and Statistics of Dacca* by Dr. J. Taylor, pp. 92 to 94.

purposes, as also the construction for the East India Company (and from 1802 to 1839 for the Royal Navy of England also) of a considerable number of frigates and big men-of-war, carrying even so many as 96 guns, were in the hands of Indians. All this might appear hardly credible; but the recorded history of the Bombay Government Docks during 1736-1839 cannot be ignored and offers the most convincing testimony to the capacity and skill of Indians in building, from start to finish, ocean-liners of any size or quality, both for peaceful and warlike purposes. That history will no doubt be found in Government archives, but the writer of the present article is indebted for it to a work entitled "A Collection of Papers relating to Ship-Building in India,"* which was compiled by Mr. John Phipps and published at Calcutta in 1840. The paper in the "Collection" from which the facts have been taken was written by an English naval officer,—Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzclarence and bears the title, *Journey from India to England*. He is also indebted to this work for an extract from the *Bombay Times* of 18th May, 1839, for some further very important details connected with the subject.

It will appear that the services rendered to the British Navy at the Bombay Government Docks at the end of the 18th century in the great war with the French, carried the fame of the Indian Master-builder over to Great Britain, so much so that when in 1802 the Board of Admiralty, the supreme authority in naval matters in England, determined to build at Bombay big men-of-war for the King's Navy, they decided upon continuing the services of the Indian Master-builder, "without the intervention of European direction or aid." Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzclarence says that between 1802-1818, 1818 being the year in which his *Journey from India to England* saw the light,—“for the service of the Royal Navy alone, the following ships have been constructed at these docks, four 74's” (*i.e.* men-of-war carrying 74 guns each), “two 38's, two 36's, two 18's and two 10's; and at present, I saw the Malabar 74, and a 38 gun frigate building.” And the same officer goes on to say that, “besides these, since the Dockyard was established” (*i.e.* in 1736), “they have built nine ships above 1000 tons; five above 800 tons; six above 700 tons; five above 600 tons and 35 others of a smaller tonnage.” With these prefatory words we proceed to place the whole account of the case in Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzclarence's own words:—

* There is a copy of this book, now out of print, in the *Imperial Library at Calcutta*,

"The history of the Docks at Bombay is curious. Previous to 1735 there were no docks at this place, the principal building station being at Surat. The (East India) Company had, as early as 1673, been obliged to build ships of war, to defend their trade against the Malabar pirates. In 1735, on a vessel being built at Surat for the Company, the Agent, who was sent there, was so much pleased with the Foreman, a Parsee, of the name of *Lowjee Nusservanjee*, that he tried to persuade him to come to Bombay; the Government being desirous to establish a yard on that island. The attachment and fidelity of the Parsee to his master, would not yield to the advantageous offer made, until his permission was procured. A short time after this period, *Lowjee* with a few artificers, arrived at Bombay, and selected for the docks part of the grounds on which they now stand. The scarcity of timber obliged Government the following year to send *Lowjee* to the North, to negotiate for a supply from the natives in the forests; and on his return he brought his family and settled them at Bombay.

"The frequent use of the Dock-yard particularly by the King's ships rendered it necessary to increase the size of the yard, which was carried into execution after 1767. In the year 1771, *Lowjee* introduced into the yard, his two grandsons, *Framjee Manseckjee* and *Jumpsetjee Bomajee*; but determining that they should learn their profession practically, he made them work as carpenters at twelve rupees a month.

"In 1774 *Lowjee Nusservanjee* died leaving nothing but a house and a sum of money under £3000. He, however, bequeathed the remembrance of his integrity to his grandsons, *Manseckjee*, who succeeded him as Master-builder, and *Bomajee* as his assistant. and they carried on the business with as much success and credit as the founder of the Yard. In 1776, the docks had acquired great reputation, and during the subsequent war in India, and the severe actions between Sir Edward Hughes and Admiral Suffrein, our vessels were docked here; and these two worthy successors of *Lowjee*, built two ships of 900 tons.

"*Bomajee* died in 1790, and *Manseckjee* in 1792, the former in debt, and the latter leaving but a small provision for his family. They were succeeded by their sons, *Framjee Manseckjee* and *Jumpsetjee Bomajee*. The success which attended the exertions of the last in building the *Cornwallis*, a frigate, for the East India Company in 1802, determined the Admiralty to order Men-of-War for the King's navy to be constructed at this spot. They intended to have sent out a European builder, but the merits of *Jumpsetjee*, being made known to their Lordships, they ordered him to continue as master-builder, without the intervention of European direction or aid. The excellent construction of two frigates and a line of battle ship spread the fame of this worthy Parsee over England. Never have the orders or expectations of Government been misplaced or disappointed.

"The sons and grandsons of *Jumpsetjee* are now in the Dockyard. Thus five generations have followed each other, and I am happy to say, his son promises as well as any of his ancestors. Indeed the history of this Dockyard is that (and a most pleasing one it is) of the rise of a respectable, honest and working family, as through several generations the chief builder has been a descendant from the first settler *Lowjee*; and so incorruptly and disinterestedly have they all acted in the discharge of their duty, that none of them ever attained to affluence.

The *Bombay Times* in its issue of the 18th May, 1839, gives the following list of the Master-builders in the Bombay Dockyard. "The undermentioned," says

it, "were the persons holding successively the appointment of Head Builder in the Bombay Government Dock-Yard, from 1736 up to 1837: (1) *Lowjee*, from 1736 to 1774, (2) Manockjee Bomanjee, from 1774 to 1793; (3) Framjee and Jamesetjee, from 1793 to 1805; (4) Jamesetjee and Ruttonjee from, 1805 to 1811; (5) Jamesetjee and Nowrojee, from 1811 to 1821; (6) Nowrojee and Cursetjee from 1821 to 1837." "In March 1839," adds the same paper, "one of the Foremen in Portsmouth Dockyard, was appointed Master shipwright at Bombay, on a salary of £700 per annum."

The full name of the Parsi ship-wright who had acquired such renown in the early days of the 18th century was Sheth Lowji Nusserwanji Wadia, the last of whose descendants was the celebrated Naoroji Maneckji Wadia, C. I. E., the philanthropic millionaire who has left by a will, in public charities over a crore of rupees and whose death only a year ago (July 21, 1909) was the subject of universal sorrow both in the Anglo-Indian and the Indian Press throughout the country. The facts connected with the lives of the earlier Wadias have been recalled in the Press and the evidence thus supplied is an ample corroboration of what we have stated in our previous description. Says that well-known and influential Anglo-Indian daily of Bombay, the *Times of India*:—"The name of the founder of the family, *Mr. Lowji Wadia*, will be irrevocably connected with the development of Bombay. He was a ship-wright and was employed in the East India Company's Dockyard at Surat. In the year 1735 he came to Bombay with a few shipwrights and with his assistance a Dry Dock was completed in Bombay in 1754 at a modest cost of Rs. 12,000." He brought up his sons in his own craft and so proficient did they become in naval architecture that by their exertions the reputation of the Bombay Dockyard became universally known in India and their business increased so much that *in the year 1760 it was found necessary to construct another dock.*" A Bombay gentleman writing in one of our daily papers has also the following:—"The family of Mr. N. M. Wadia is as old as it is illustrious. Its founder, *Sheth Lowji Nusserwanji Wadia*, was born at Surat in 1710. As he grew up he acquired the profession of shipwright, in which he and his descendants have obtained much renown. The art was transmitted from father to son and as years went on, their genius in ship-building earned a great name for them both in England and in India. They not only earned high praise from Government, but were awarded a gold medal, and were further substantially rewarded with the present of an extensive estate in Salsette. *In the course of close upon a century and a half the Wadias built about 350 men-of-war and other vessels.* Sheth Lowji Nusserwanji Wadia acquired great fame by his skill and ability and in return for valuable services rendered by him to the French Government, Napoleon Buonaparte presented him with the order of the Legion of Honour. Naoroji Maneckji Wadia, now deceased, had two sons, both of whom died a few days after birth."—(to be concluded)

PROGRESS OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN NATIVE INDIAN STATES—PART IV

(Continued from pp. 119-124 of July, 1910 number of this journal)

TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN TRAVANCORE STATE :

V. Industrial Manufactures and Industrial Training

(A)

In our preceding article on the subject of Technical Education in Travancore we dwelt chiefly on the training in Engineering * imparted to the higher class students of the State ; and we have also given some account of the training of the artizan classes, with special reference to their services rendered to the members of the community in meeting local needs and demands. We now propose to give some account of such industrial training (imparted in a number of Industrial Schools in the State) as has a direct bearing upon the *manufacturing industries* carried on within the State and to which the export trade of Travancore is primarily related. Instead of furnishing mere statistical accounts of the industrial schools of the State without reference to the part played by them in directing and stimulating its trade with territories outside it, we would proceed to show to what extent the industrial training as imparted in some of its Industrial Schools has been furthering the industrial advancement of the State.

We have to say at the outset that Travancore is chiefly an agricultural country. Leaving aside the agricultural products, such as cocoanut, tea, cardamoms, rubber, etc., which mainly constitute the export trade of Travancore in the form of raw staple products, the only *manufacturing industries* worth the name are the cocoanut oil and the coir † industry. The coir industry has for some years past been of supreme importance seeing that while exports of the cocoanut and copra, (which is the dried kernel of the cocoanut yielding cocoanut oil), have shown considerable decline, the exports of coir have increased. Thus, for instance, during 1906-07 the increase in value was by six lakhs over the preceding year. The importance of the coir work industry (including rope-making) may further be gauged from the fact that, according to the *Census* of Travancore for 1901, over 133,000 persons are supported by this industry. We must not also forget another and most important aspect of this industry, namely, that it is a cottage industry. For out of over 80,000 persons actually engaged in this industry, about 59,000 are female workers who carry on the work in their homes.

(B) •

Technical Institute, Maniankulam, Paravur :—That the industrial progress of the State depends to some extent at any rate

* Since we wrote our first article on the subject of Technical Education in Travancore State, we received a letter from a correspondent of Travancore informing that the Sri Mula Rama Varma Technical Institute, at Nagercoil (*Vide* p. 119 of July issue) has of late been removed to a more central place, at Trivandrum, the capital of the State. Since the removal of the Institute to Trivandrum, the students of the Technical Institute has had the advantage of studying Mathematics at His Highness the Maharaja's Higher Grade Secondary School and College, Trivandrum, where there are better arrangements to teach the subject up to the standard required.

† Strong fibre of the husk of the cocoanut used for making door-mats, ropes etc.

on a better and successful handling of the coir industry has not been lost sight of by the people of Travancore, for we find that so far as eight years back a Technical Institute was started at *Maniankulam* near *Paravur* with a view to impart industrial education with special reference to the manufacture of coir mats, foot rugs, etc. At the initial stage of the Institute, the instructors had only the experience they could pick up from local firms. But later on they were sent out to Bombay, Ceylon, and subsequently to many distant parts of India to get themselves thoroughly acquainted with the working of the different industrial firms and the practice of the industries they engaged themselves in. The teaching staff of the Institute, therefore, though they have not passed any qualifying tests, are men of wide practical experience whose services have gone a long way to make the Institute an important factor in stimulating the coir industry. A noteworthy feature of the Institute is that side by side with the Industrial training an elementary course of general education is also imparted to the students. The whole course of instruction extends ordinarily over three years though occasionally pupils have gone on for a longer time to qualify themselves in a more efficient manner. No examination is held but the articles manufactured by the student have to be submitted for the approval of bodies of select persons. No restriction is imposed on admission. Lastly, one of the more important features is the fact that education is imparted free in this Institute. Most of the students passed out of this Institute have been carrying on the coir works industry in their village homes, while some have started factories in several parts of Travancore.

The capital expenditure of the Institute on building, furniture, and appliances amounted to about Rs. 5,000. The annual recurring expenses come up to about Rs. 2,000. The Institute enjoys an annual grant of Rs. 360 from the Government of Travancore. The proceeds of the sale of articles manufactured in the ordinary course of training amount to Rs. 1,500 a year. That the public of Travancore appreciate the work of the Institute would appear from the fact that on several public occasions and at various exhibitions, the manufactured articles sent up from the Institute, have received universal approbation and won several prize medals. It is also very noteworthy that the Institute has enjoyed the privilege of receiving presents and high testimonials from His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, their Highnesses the senior and junior Ranees of Travancore, and the Rajah of Cochin.

In this connection we have to point out that most of the students of this Institute have come from the *Ezhava* caste, a "depressed class," whose social status was till lately most humiliating. For the Government of Travancore has by notification very recently made almost all public schools accessible to the children of that community. The importance of the *Ezhavas* in relation to the coir industry may easily be understood from the fact that out of about 80,000 hands engaged in the industry no less than sixty thousands belong to this class.—(to be continued).

PART II: TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

CASTE AND CHRISTIANITY: FACTS AND IDEALS

I

In the January, 1910 and the July, 1910 numbers of that ably conducted Christian missionary publication, *The East and the West*, the London organ of the S. P. G., have appeared two very remarkable articles, one from the pen of the Rev. R. F. Callaway, an S. P. G. missionary in South Africa, where he has been working for the last ten years; and the other, from the pen of Rev. C. F. Andrews of Delhi. Both of them have tried to tackle the question of the intermarriage of the white and coloured races belonging to the Christian Church, the South African missionary finding it difficult to reconcile himself to such social fellowship on the part of white Christians with coloured Christians as would end in marriage. While Mr. Andrews is of opinion that "a chief obstacle to the acceptance of the Christian faith by India is the opposition on the part of Christians—European Christians—to any social intercourse with Indians which might conceivably result in intermarriage between the two races." * The extreme importance and difficulty of the issues raised in the two articles is recognised by the Editor of the journal in which they appear, who in the course of a short editorial paragraph, observes:—"The question with which Mr. Andrews deals is one of such extreme difficulty and involves such serious and far-reaching consequences that it is not surprising that it has seldom been discussed in any missionary review."

The whole difficulty arises because, to use the words of the Rev. Mr. Callaway, the South African missionary, "the catholic Church of Christ does not recognise within the sphere of its fellowship distinctions of caste, colour or nationality." Mr. Callaway's position has been very well summarised by Mr. Andrews in the following words: "If I read Mr. Callaway's articles rightly, his own tentative conclusion is, that the Church must unhesitatingly declare that we are all of whatever race, equal children together at the table of the Lord; yet she cannot, where great racial differences exist, go on to demand that the spiritual union of Holy Eucharist shall involve *social union* also. The Church may be content if only the equality of religious and spiritual union is faithfully observed. *The social sphere may be left outside the Church's domain.*"

Mr. Andrews proceeds to render Mr. Callaway's line of argument more explicit thus:—"The main argument used is a practical one. Social intercourse inevitably leads on in the course of time to intermarriage between the two races" ~~the~~ *the white and the coloured South African races*. "Such intermarriage is highly undesirable both in itself and for the children who spring from it. Therefore while expressing kindly feelings for one another and acting as a united Christian community at the Blessed Sacrament, it is better with regard to

* *Vide Note on Mr. Andrews' article by the Editor of the The East and the West, p. 345 of July, 1910 number of that journal.*

social matters to have as little meeting together as possible: the Christian white man cannot be expected to invite the African to his house. The races should part, as it were, at the Church door. Missionaries may go much further, but for the ordinary layman this is sufficient." *Mr. Andrews.*

Mr. Callaway's position may be thus further amplified in his own words:— "Whatever fellowship is desirable within the sphere of religious life may legitimately be kept within that sphere and not introduced into the domain of social life. It may be right for an English Christian to overcome by the grace of God any repugnance he may feel to receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood together with native members of the Church, but it may not necessarily be right for him to admit them to the customs of social life which he has inherited from Western Civilisation. . . . It is hardly wise to attempt a revolution of accepted social usages; in the meanwhile we can all set our hands to the task of common courtesy, consideration and sympathy."

Mr. Andrews' point of view, however, with regard to this theoretical unity *within the Church* through the Sacrament of Unity, and separation *in life outside the Church* presents a complete contrast: Says he—"Is the united reception of the Sacrament *in Church* sufficient? No. Is modified social intercourse sufficient? No. Nothing has been really achieved till the marriage question itself has been solved. . . . If it be urged that the observance of the Sacrament of Unity within the Church is sufficient to prevent the colour-prejudice ever hardening into caste, it can be replied that Hinduism has had for centuries its own religious symbol of unity at the temple of Jagannath, where the Brahman eats the same sacred food with the low-caste Hindu—and then goes back to his old race-alooftness. Sister Nivedita, a Christian, who has professed Hinduism, recognises the divine unity of mankind. Caste, she says, is merely a question of good manners—an arrangement for such domestic things as marriage and dinners."

II

Mr. Andrews also points out in consonance with his principles above laid down that the Christian population of converted Indians would never be immune against a relapse into *heathenism*, "until intermarriage takes place between Christians who are in every way social equals *but of different castes*." The mere "observance of the Holy Communion where Brahman and Pariah drink out of the one cup of the Lord and share the one bread is not sufficient." For, as seen above, the non-Christian "Brahman eats the same sacred food with the low-caste Hindu at the temple of Jagannath." No. "Those who have watched the development of Christianity in the South of India—its rapid growth, and then its sudden decline in spiritual power—have told us that the Christian faith can only live and grow and thrive where the caste spirit has been finally excluded." And proceeds Mr. Andrews to explain that "most missionaries are now agreed that the final overthrow of caste has not been effected, and the caste-spirit has not been destroyed until intermarriage takes place

between Christians who are in every way social equals, but of different castes." Mr. Andrews quotes Rev. J. A. Sharrock, a South Indian missionary of long standing, on this very point of the liability of the Indian Christian convert's—liability to relapse into heathenism. Mr. Sharrock, in the chapter "Caste within the Christian Church" in his book *South Indian Missions* writes:—"We can show success in education, in self-support and self-government, also a certain amount of evangelistic zeal, but still the fact remains that the great mass-movements are invariably followed by periods of deadly stagnation—there is always the same fatal cycle. First, the conversion of a large body of some low-caste or outcaste community ; then a moment's zeal, with general progress all round ; and lastly, a terrible state of lethargy." Mr. Sharrock's explanation of this fall from Christian spiritual fervour is as follows : "When men are baptised, idolatry must be given up, but caste, which is the greater and more insidious evil is retained. Hence there is no real life." For, as Mr. Andrews explains,—“the most powerful solvent of caste-customs, the Holy Communion itself where Brahman and Pariah drink out of the one cup of the Lord and share the one bread does not alone overthrow the caste spirit. The missionaries find that caste is still being observed when the Church building has been left ” (*i.e.*, after the Holy Communion ceremony has been performed). “Congregational gatherings outside the Church, boarding schools on non-caste lines—these and many other means are tried in order to break down the caste prejudice which still remains. But even these are not sufficient. The barrier of separate eating and drinking has to be overcome.” The remedy for the destruction of the caste-spirit is to be found according to both Mr. Andrews and Mr. Sharrock in “inter-marriage between social equals separated by caste-barriers alone.”

III.

The above-mentioned principle laid down by Mr. Andrews as a true test of a sincere Christian life—the principle, namely, of establishing complete fellowship through intermarriage between social equals professing the same Christian faith would appear to be fraught with “such extreme difficulty and involves such serious and far-reaching consequences,”—we are quoting the remarks of the Editor of *The East and West*,—“that it is not surprising that it has seldom been discussed in any Missionary Review.” So long as it is a question of intermarriage between a black Christian man and a black Christian woman, it is not really brought home to the European Christian. The principle, however, does not exclude from its purview the possibility of intermarriages between white and coloured communities professing the Christian faith. Now, taking the case of South Africa, we note that the bare possibility of an intermarriage between a white Christian and a black Christian inconceivable ; so strong and even violent is the repugnance felt by the European to any form of fellowship with the South African native, although the last should profess the same faith with the former. Says Mr. Callaway :—“There is an absolute and almost bitter refusal on the part of white Christians to mingle in any kind of

fellowship with black Christians. A native may have passed his Cape matriculation and wear clothes ordered from a London tailor and speak English faultlessly, or he may be a person of considerable wealth, or he may be a priest, yet there are very few houses where he would run the risk of entering by the front door or sitting down to tea with the hostess. It is remarkable that no amount of education or of culture or of that impress which the Sacred Ministry bestows avails in any appreciable degree to break through this attitude of reserve and aloofness. Mr. Callaway, who has been engaged for the past ten years in the diocese of St. John's Kaffraria in S. Africa, is very candid and explicit on this point; he does not even spare himself or his brother missionaries who are labouring in the mission fields of South Africa. "Frequently I feel a great repugnance to shaking hands with some native whom probably in my reasoned judgment I esteem highly. We (clergymen) go about the black people, we accept their hospitality, we sleep in their huts, we mingle with them intimately in the House of God, but often when they come to our houses, especially when we are pastors also of European flocks, they find an atmosphere all too chilly. Too often it happens that in spite of our better selves the instincts of nature re-asserts itself in the setting of European friends and neighbours. "It is much easier for a white priest to be friendly with black people when his white neighbours are some miles away out of sight and hearing! "

IV

Mr. Andrews notes this element of strong social repugnance with very great regret and observes with a sense of deep humiliation,—“It would be a strong irony if the Christian Church which is making a noble struggle against the blighting effects of caste in India, baffled again and again yet undefeated, should in South Africa and elsewhere, be allowing to grow up, almost without protest the same caste system in the modified form of the *colour line*.” Mr. Callaway's answer is as follows:—“It is an extraordinarily difficult matter, a matter in which we must distinguish between what is ideally right and practically expedient:” and he thus seeks to find the reason for this extreme, even violent form of social repugnance,—“We ask, why is this? It is not due to the dislike of the clean for the dirty; nor of the cultured for the barbarous. We are forced then to the answer that the reason of the cleavage between black and white is to be found in an instinctive colour prejudice. It is the instinctive antipathy which explains why quite devout English folk will not sit down to table with a cleanly, well-dressed black man.” In other words, to quote the language of Mr. Andrews, stating his opponent's point of view—“There must be some physical reason behind the strong social repugnance.” So strong is the repugnance, says Mr. Callaway, that “the one impulse which apparently has power to conquer the instinct of antipathy is lust. One cannot do more than refer to facts which are well-known to all who have lived in any time in South Africa.” The result of all this is, to quote Mr. Callaway's words, that “the natives themselves are much more sensitive to such slights than is commonly supposed. At an archdeaconal conference a native clergyman spoke of the difficulty native Christians had in realising that they belonged to the Church with the English. Some say, he told us quite simply, that they would not receive the cup of salvation with us.”

After all this it looks somewhat strange that “officially it is regarded as desirable that the natives of South Africa should be Christians.” Mr. Callaway while putting forward the above missionary official statement does not say why the conversion of South African natives to Christianity is considered desirable. Mr. Callaway goes on to observe,—“And in conversation among white people in South Africa, it would be generally allowed that there is an obligation resting on the Christian Church to preach the Gospel?” We should be very glad, indeed, to be informed as to the basis of this *obligation*.

PART III

SECTION I : INDIAN EDUCATIONAL AND ALLIED MOVEMENTS

MOVEMENT FOR EDUCATION OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES AND OF THE MASSES GENERALLY—VII

(Continued from pp. 73-78 of August, 1910 number.)

2. The Depressed Classes in the Southern Presidency : Remarkable Views of a French Christian Missionary of a Century Ago

I

In our last we gave in some detail an account of the Depressed Classes in the Southern Presidency in which we dwelt on their different sub-divisions, their social relations with the higher Hindu castes and the social life lived by them among their own communities, and we further pointed out the extreme difficulties in tackling the problem in the Southern Presidency, difficulties arising out of the rules of "touch" and "approach" imposed on them by the high caste Hindus, difficulties arising also out of the working of similar rules among the different divisions and sub-divisions among themselves, resulting in the absence of all desire to improve their (? divinely decreed) social position. These are the forces at work which have to be combated by those who have started the Movement for the elevation of the depressed classes in the Southern Presidency. The importance of the subject, however, demands that some notice of the condition of the depressed classes in the *past* should be taken, when *some* of the forces at any rate, notably the proselytising influences of Christian missionaries, were not so strongly operative. In doing so we shall present the views of a French Christian Missionary, Abbe J. A. Dubois, as contained in his well-known work on the Manners, Customs, etc. of the People of India, composed in the early part of the last century. Having escaped from the massacres of the French Revolution he had sought refuge in India towards the close of the 18th century and resided at Seringapatam in Mysore, working there as a Christian missionary. As the result of prolonged and continued observation of the character of the Hindus extending over 15 years, Abbe Dubois was able to record his observations which he did in his mother tongue. The book was not published by the author himself, but in its original manuscript form was handed over by him early in 1806 to Major Wilks, the then Acting Resident of Mysore. It was subsequently presented to the Governor in Council at Fort St. George on 1st December, 1820. Afterwards the Hon'ble Court of Directors of the East India Company allowed the work to be translated from French into English by the Rev. G. U. Pope, then Head Master of the Ootacamund Grammar School and a Fellow of the Calcutta University. The book underwent a second edition in 1862 and is entitled "A Description of the Character, Manners and Customs of the People of India and their Institutions, Religious and Civil." Unlike most other Christian Missionaries, Abbe Dubois has treated his subject very sympathetically and represents a view not very different from that taken by average orthodox, educated Hindus of to-day. His treatment of the subject of the depressed classes of Southern India and of

the principles of relationship with the higher Hindu castes, deserves our special notice, if for nothing else, at least for this that it paints a state of things in the Hindu Society of a hundred years ago similar to what we find at the present day and suggests certain explanations of the situation which are eminently worthy of consideration by the historical student.

II

Abbe Dubois lays down certain general principles by which, in his opinion, the social relations of the high caste Hindus with the depressed classes were determined. In his opinion the separation of the high caste Hindus from the depressed classes proceeded from the former scrupulously adhering to peculiar practices of *cleanliness* and discarding everything calculated to defile their body "externally" as well as "internally." Thus he says on page 82 of his book :— "All Hindus in general, pay the most scrupulous attention and care to avoid whatever can, in their imagination, defile their person or apparel. It is more than probable that the Brahmans have communicated to them these habits, being themselves more deeply tainted with them than the Hindus belonging to other castes. In their conduct and the whole intercourse of life, the Brahmans have nothing so much at heart as cleanliness; and it is this quality, influencing their whole manners, that gives them in a great measure the superiority which they assert over other tribes." "Defilement," according to Abbe Dubois, is of three kinds, (1) "External Defilement," (2) "Internal Defilement of the Body" and (3) "Defilement of the Soul." The external defilement consists in the touch of certain unclean or objectionable things such as leather and every kind of skin, except those of the tiger and the antelope, of most animals, particularly that of dogs, or by not bathing regularly and after assisting at a funeral or even receiving the news of the death of a relation. The internal defilement of the body consists in partaking of objectionable food and drink, such as meat, liquor, etc. The castes that are habituated to these two kinds of defilement are supposed by the high caste Hindus to defile their persons by touch or are simply "untouchable." Thus says Abbe Dubois,— "It is owing in a great measure to the notion of considering as impure those who eat of animal food, that the separation between the *Pariahs* and the other castes has become so extremely wide. They will eat not only animals killed on purpose, but also such as die naturally. Oxen and buffaloes which perish from old age or disease belong to them of right, and they carry home and greedily devour the tainted carrion which they find on the high ways and in fields." (*Vote p. 90*). Again, on pp. 331-32 we read : "But, if the caste of the *Pariahs* be held in low and vile repute, it must be admitted that it deserves to be so, by the conduct of the individuals, and the sort of life they lead. There is a coarseness about them which excites abhorrence. They are exceedingly addicted to drunkenness. The liquor which they most enjoy is the juice of the palm, which they commonly drink when in a state of fermentation; and, though it then stinks abominably, they seem to take it for nectar."

Besides the habits of uncleanness and intemperance which have made the *Pariahs* and similar castes "untouchable," there is a second standard, according to Abbe Dubois, which separates a good many depressed castes from higher Hindu castes. This is *low occupation and violation of revered and established laws and customs*.

Thus, we read on page 333—"Besides these low and despised sects, there are many others, which though greatly above them, are still regarded with contempt by the generality of the Hindus, and held to occupy the lowest rank of all the kinds of the Sudras. These tribes have sunk in the public opinion by living in a sort of vassalage beneath the other castes, or by exercising trades which frequently expose them to pollution; or, in many instances, because they lead a wandering and roving life which involves them in frequent breaches of the most revered and established customs."

III

(A)

Abbe Dubois speaks of about seven sections of the depressed classes, some being placed under the "untouchables," while others, though not clearly mentioned whether "untouchables," or not, being described as being held in great "contempt" by the high caste Hindus. These are the *Pariahs*, the *Pallars*, the *Pulians*, the *Chakkilis* (shoe-makers), the *Ottars*, the *Kuruvars*, and the *Lambidis*. Besides, he mentions the *barbers* and *washermen* as two of the lowest vulgar castes.

Speaking of the *Pariahs* and their civil condition, Abbe Dubois remarks on page 331 as follows—"Most of them sell themselves, with their wives and children, for slaves to the farmers, who make them undergo the hardest labours of agriculture, and treat them with the utmost severity. They are likewise the scavengers of the villages, their business being to keep the thoroughfares clean, and to remove all the filth as it collects in the houses. Yet these, notwithstanding the meanness of their employment, are generally better treated than the others; because there is superadded to the disgusting employment we have mentioned, the cleaner duty of distributing the waters of the tanks and canals for irrigating the rice plantations of the inhabitants of the village; who, for that reason, can not avoid feeling some kindness in their behalf. Some of them who do not live in this state of servitude, are employed to take care of the horses of individuals, or of the army, or of elephants and oxen. They are also the porters, and run upon errands and messages. In some parts they are permitted to cultivate the lands, for their own benefit; and in others, they can exercise the profession of weavers. Of late, they have occasionally been admitted into the European armies, and those of the native Princes, in which they have sometimes attained considerable distinction. In point of courage, they are not inferior to any other Hindu caste."

Speaking of the social relations of the *Pariahs* with the higher Hindu castes, Abbe Dubois remarks on page 329 as follows: "The distance and aversion

which the other castes, and Brahmans in particular, manifest for the *Pariahs* are carried so far that, in many places, their approach is sufficient to pollute the whole neighbourhood. They are not permitted to enter the street where Brahmans live. If they venture to transgress, their superior beings would have the right, not to assault themselves, because it would be pollution to touch them even with the end of a long pole, but they would be entitled to give them even a sound beating by the hands of others ; or even make an end of them, which has often happened, by the orders of native Princes, without dispute or inquiry. . . . Any person who, from whatever accident, has eaten with *Pariahs*, or of food provided by them ; or even drunk of the water which they have drawn, or which was contained in earthen vessels which they have handled ; any one who has set his foot in their houses or permitted them to enter his own, would be proscribed, without pity, from his caste, and would never be restored without a number of troublesome ceremonies and great expense. This extreme detestation of the *Pariahs* by other castes is not carried to the same extent in all districts. It prevails chiefly in the southern parts of the peninsula, and becomes less apparent in the north. In that quarter of Mysore, where I am now writing these pages, the higher castes endure the approach of the *Pariahs* ; for they suffer them enter that part of the house which shelters the cows ; and in some cases they have been permitted to shew their head, and one foot, in the apartment of the master of the house. I have been informed that this wide distinction between these castes becomes less apparent as you go northward, till at last it totally disappears.* ”

(B)

There are other depressed sections besides the *Pariahs* ; of them Abbe Dubois writes (p. 332) :—“ Besides the caste of the *Pariahs*, which is spread over all the provinces of the peninsula, there are some others, peculiar to certain districts, which equal or even surpass it, in brutality of sentiment, irregularity of life, and also in the abhorrence in which they are held. Such is the caste of the *Pullar*, which is little known but in the kingdom of Madura and other parts bordering on Cape Comorin. They boast of a superiority over the *Pariahs*, because they do not eat the flesh of the cow or ox ; but the *Pariahs* hold them far beneath themselves.”

* Abbe Dubois makes some observations regarding the history of this caste distinction between the *Pariahs* and high caste Hindus which may be of some interest. Thus he says : “ But the distinction itself appears to be of very old standing, being particularly referred to in several of the ancient *Puranas*. The distance, however, which exists between the *Pariahs* and the other tribes does not appear to have been great, at the first, as it is at present. Although the lowest of the castes, it is ranked nevertheless, with that of the *Sudras* ; and they are considered to have derived their origin from the same source. Even at the present time, they pass for the descendants of the first caste among the cultivators, who do not disdain to call them their children. But we must also observe, that if the better class of the *Sudras* considers the *Pariahs* to be sprung from the same stock with themselves, and represents them in speculation, as their children, they are very far from reducing their theory to practice.”

With reference to another section, Abbe Dubois writes :—"In the mountainous tract of the Malabar Coast there is to be seen a caste still more low and depressed than any we have ever mentioned. They are called *Pulians* ; who are considered to be far beneath the beasts who traverse their forests, and equally share the dominion in them. It is not permitted to them to erect a house but only a sort of shed, supported on four bamboos, and open on all sides. It shelters them from the rain, but not from the injuries of the weather. They dare not walk on the common road, as their steps would defile it. When they see any person coming at a distance, they must give them notice, by a loud cry, and make a great circuit to let him pass. The least distance they are permitted to keep from persons of a different caste is about a hundred paces."

Then, with regard to a third section, we have the following :—"In all the provinces of the peninsula the caste of the *Chakkili* (or the shoe-maker) is held to be very infamous, and as below the *Pariahs*. They are inferior to them from the baseness of their sentiments, and the total want of honour and of all feeling of shame. Their manners are also more gross, and they are more addicted to gluttony and intemperance. They get merry towards the evening and it is not long before the villages resound with the cries and quarrels occasioned by their cups. They are all wretchedly poor" (p. 332).

With regard to a fourth section of the depressed classes, that of the *Ottars* we read :—"The caste of the *Ottar* whose principal employment consists in building walls of earth, digging tanks, and keeping their banks in repair, are likewise considered as low tribes, by the Sudras. The education of these people corresponds to the meanness of their origin. Their mind is as uncultivated as their manners ; and *everything seems to justify the small esteem in which they are held.*" (*Vide* p. 334).

The last section of the depressed classes which we will mention in the present article is that of the wandering tribes of the Southern Presidency, who are known by the name of the *Kuruvars*. Of them Abbe Dubois writes as follows :—"The vagrants called *Kuruvars* are divided into three branches. One of these is chiefly engaged in the traffic of salt, which they go, in bands to procure, and carry it to the interior of the country on the backs of asses, which they have in great droves ; and when they have disposed of their cargoes, they re-load the beasts with the sort of grain in greatest request on the coast ; to which they return without loss of time. Thus, whole lives are passed in transit, without a place of settlement in any part of the land."

"The trade of another branch of the *Kuruvars* is the manufacture of osier panniers, wicker-baskets and other household utensils of that sort ; or bamboo mats. This class, like the preceding, are compelled to traverse the whole country, from place to place, in quest of employment. All of them live under little tents, constructed of woven bamboos, three feet high, four or five broad, and five or six in length, in which they squat, man, wife, and children. . . .

These vagabonds never think of saving anything for future wants, but spend every day all they earn, and even more. They must therefore live in grievous poverty; and when their work fails them, they have no resource but begging alms.

"The third species of *Kuruvans* is generally known under the name of *Kalla-Bantru*, or robbers; and indeed those who compose this caste are generally thieves or sharpers, by profession and right of birth. . . . Far from being ashamed of their infamous profession, they openly glory in it; and when they have nothing to fear, they publicly boast, with the greatest complacency, of the dexterous robberies they have committed, at various times during their career. Some who have been caught and wounded in the act, or have had their nose and ears, or perhaps their hand, cut off for the offence, exhibit their loss with ostentation as a mark of their intrepidity; and these are the men who are generally chosen to be the chiefs of the caste"—(pp. 336-37).

IV

(A)

Having given in some detail a descriptive account of the habits, manners and customs that characterised the *Pariahs* and other sections of the depressed classes among the Hindus as they appeared to Abbe Dubois' eyes in the early part of the 19th century, it appears to us to be necessary to explain the moral value which the French missionary attached to those depressed classes in relation to the governing community of the Hindu castes. The habits, manners and customs of the *Pariahs* and other depressed sections did not, as we have seen, commend themselves to the French Missionary, and it is clear that he regarded the caste communities among the Hindus as far superior to those despised communities. The following quotation from his work would amply bear out the above statement (pp. 10-11):—"We have it in our power to form some judgment of what the Hindus would degenerate to, if the restraint of the division, the rules and the police of castes were abolished, by considering what the *Pariahs* of India are; who being exempt from all restrictions of honour and shame, which so strongly influence the other castes, can freely and without reserve abandon themselves to their natural propensities. Every man who carefully considers the character and conduct of such a class of men as this, being the most numerous of all, I think will agree with me, that a State consisting entirely of such members could not long endure, and could not fail to decline very quickly into the very worst degree of barbarism. For my own part, who know the inclinations and sentiments of this species of men, I am persuaded that a nation of *Pariahs*, left to themselves, would speedily become worse than the hordes of cannibals that wander in the deserts of Africa and would soon fall to the devouring of each other. I am no less convinced, that the Hindus if they were not restrained within the bounds of decorum and of subordination by means of the castes, which assign to every man his employment, and by regulations of police suited to each individual; but were

without any curb fit to check them, or any motive for applying one, would soon become what the *Pariahs* are or worse ; and the whole nation sinking of course into a fearful anarchy, India, from the most polished of all countries, would become the most barbarous of any upon earth."

(B)

We will conclude by referring to the subject of physical *cleanness* so much advocated by the Hindu castes as one of the important factors which, in Abbe Dubois' opinion, separated them from the depressed classes. Abbe Dubois is a great advocate of the principle, although he would not go the whole length with the Brahmans for instance, in the carrying out of the idea. Says he ;—" It is difficult to dispute that there is some foundation for their notions on this subject of inward uncleanness. The excessive perspiration of some, and the sort of diseases which many others are affected with, appear distinctly to show that, from some cause inherent in warm climates, or in the nature of the bodies of those that inhabit them, the blood of most of them is impure. The Brahmans, setting out upon this principle, have restricted themselves to certain practices by which they pretend that the body is defended from impurities, many of which are caught by infection. The attention to be paid to this consideration is therefore not without foundation, although they have strayed beyond it in an infinite number of silly observances which common sense derides." (p. 87)

SECTION II : STUDENTS' COLUMN

KHANAKUL KRISHNAGAR AND ITS FAMOUS TEMPLE OF GHANTESWAR

(Concluded from our last issue)

To give effect to the last-mentioned resolution of the *Dharma Mandal*, Raja Peary Mohan Mukherjee, M. A., B. L., C. S. I., of Uttarpara, Rai Yatindra Nath Chaudhuri, M. A., B. L., of Baranagar, and Rai Rajendrachandra Sastri Bahadur, M. A., of 30 Tarak Chatterjee's Lane, Ahiritola, Calcutta, have been, on behalf of the *Dharma Mandal*, collecting funds for the *Ghanteswar Bhandar*. While as representatives of the *Khanakul-Krishnagar Samaj*, the following three gentlemen, namely (1) the Hon'ble Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu, M. A., B. L., President, Ghanteswar Bhandar, 10 Hastings Street, Calcutta, (2) Babu Bepin Behari Ghosh, B. L., Treasurer, Ghanteswar Bhandar, 50 Sukea's Street, Calcutta, and (3) Sj. Kishori Mohan Gupta, M. A., Secretary, Ghanteswar Bhandar, have been collecting funds. Up till recently Rs. 1,200 had been realised while the sum of Rs. 1,000 has been promised. The authorities expect to raise the remaining sum of about Rs. 1,400 in due course. Out of the amount collected, Rs. 130 has been mainly spent on publishing *photos* of the temple, and defraying the travelling charges of the three engineers consulted, while Rs. 500 has been spent on brick, and piling with bamboo for the immediate protection of the

temple. For the spur-work, the authorities have been able to secure 130 pieces of *sal*-wood, each 30 to 35 feet long and 10 to 12 inches in diameter, and the work is expected to be begun as soon as other arrangements are ready.

Among the many distinguished persons who have helped in the work may be mentioned the names of Babu Brajendra Kishore Ray Chaudhuri, Zemindar of Gouripur in the district of Mymensingh, who has made himself famous by his princely benefaction of properties worth five lakhs of rupees to the National Council of Education, and of Raja Baikuntha Nath Dey Bahadur of Balasore, who have contributed to the *Ghanteswar Fund* Rs. 101 and 100 respectively. Lastly, I have to mention that in conveying the pieces of *sal*-wood from a station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway to *Khanakul* and in other ways, the *Samaj* has been greatly helped by Sj. Rup Chand Bhukta of Nandanpur, Sj. Santi Prada Basu of Sonatikri and by the Manager of the estate of Rai Chandra Pal Bahadur. Enthusiasm for the work has been created to such an extent that even the people of the gentlemen class, both young and old, of the locality, have worked hand in hand with labourers engaged in the repair work. It should be mentioned here that a good deal of the success achieved has been due to the Secretary of the *Ghanteswar Bhanganar*, Sj. Kishori Mohan Gupta, M.A., who has been hitherto the life and soul of the *Khanakul-Krishnagar Association*. In conclusion, I cannot withhold my meed of praise to Sj. Kishori Mohan Gupta. He has been always a very active worker and a sincere, self-sacrificing and religiously-minded man. He joined the Bengal National College, Calcutta, from its very start and was throughout one of its most devoted workers. He was the senior Professor of Mathematics at the College. He has very recently joined the *Hindu Academy* at Daulatpur in the district of Khulna, as Professor of Mathematics. His severance of connection with the Bengal National College has been undoubtedly a great loss to that institution, as he was not only an able Professor, but also very popular with the students. He is an actively religious man and a stern moralist, who cannot put up with anything in the shape of laxity of morals either in teachers or in students. In his present new sphere of work, Sj. Kishori Mohan Gupta will, no doubt, find a fit opportunity for the exercise of his high talents. For the College at Daulatpur under the able guidance of its self-sacrificing Secretary and a devoted staff of workers has already succeeded in making a name for itself as a centre not only of intellectual activity, but also as a place where the professors and the authorities work, in harmony with a special eye to the moral and religious improvement both of teachers and students.

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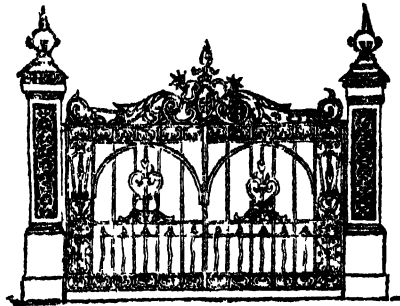
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WHOLE
No 169

PART I: INDIANA

THE IMPERIAL VISIT: INDIA AND HINDU LOYALTY—PART I

I THE IMMUTABLE BASIS OF HINDU LOYALTY

6

(From the Western Point of View)

"Ordinarily India gives few indications of any fervent attachment to our rule. But a close acquaintance with her people shows that underlying a certain amount of discontent there is a sincere and ardent loyalty to the head of the Empire. There may be much dissatisfaction with British rule in certain of its aspects. There is undoubtedly a great absence of popularity in regard to the ruling class as a whole. But these things may and do exist side by side with a warm attachment to the King-Emperor and the Royal Family, who are the personal embodiments of the power which India obeys. There is no paradox here. The truth is that such dissatisfaction as is to be found in India is largely due to the absence of that personal element which the Eastern mind loves to recognise in the rule which claims his submission. When India is reminded that she owes allegiance not, after all, to an administrative machine, to a cunningly-devised system of delegated authority, but to a Person—then she shows that she can be loyal, loyal with a whole-hearted devotion which the Western mind can hardly understand." (From the November, 1905, number of the *Empire Review*).

Similar or almost identical sentiments are to be found in the following extract taken from a leading article appearing in the

Anglo-Indian daily of Western India, the *Times of India* (16th August, 1905), and written in connexion with the then approaching visit to India of our present King-Emperor, then Prince of Wales.

"Intelligent foreigners often ask, whether the natives of India are really loyal to the British *Raj*. They are confused and puzzled by the discordant notes that greet their ears as they pass through India....They ask themselves whether a country which presents so many obtrusive symptoms of disapproval can be loyal at heart to the British Crown? At first sight the proposition may seem paradoxical, but most experienced Englishmen who have lived for a considerable time in India, have rightly come to the conclusion that these surface manifestations are nevertheless perfectly consistent with a deep and fervent loyalty towards the Throne. And the reason will not long be hidden from those who care to seek it. From time immemorial, the people of India have been accustomed to personal rulers, without the intervention of representative governing bodies and institutions. They desire and they understand a personal embodiment of the Administration, in whose name all governing acts are performed. They are willing and anxious to accord personal veneration to the monarch set over them, to an extent which men of the Western world sometimes find it difficult fully to appreciate. The Government of India is to them always more or less a nebulous thing; even a Viceroy is only the delegated representative of some one else; the officials who make and enforce this law and that, are not clothed in the purple, or imbued with the majesty of Royalty; but the King-Emperor, —at last, when his name is spoken, they are conscious of a ruler who fulfils their sentiments, their aspirations, and their ancient traditions.

"We speak, of course, less of the comparative handfuls of highly educated men in the great cities, than of the masses of the people. Those who have been brought closely into touch with the highest Western influences are as a rule amply loyal too, but their loyalty is usually reasoned acquiescence and approval. With the bulk of the people it is instinctive, the outcome of centuries of habit. To accord respectful homage to their personal ruler is part of their customs and their modes of thought. Whenever opportunity offers, they gladly give expression to their genuine and heartfelt devotion to the Monarch or the Throne. Hence it is that though controversies may rage, though there may be discontent here and dissatisfaction there, intense loyalty to the King-Emperor and the Royal Family springs spontaneously to the surface. It strikes the truest and the clearest note to be struck in India to-day. It is, we verily believe, the one sentiment the country holds in common."

II. THE IMMUTABLE BASIS OF HINDU LOYALTY

(From the Hindu Point of View)

(A)

Such is the Western interpretation of Hindu loyalty and it presents the Hindu's devotion to the Person of the Sovereign as an inalienable trait of Hindu character. Such instinctive loyalty is part of the traditions which have been handed to the Hindus from the past. This view invests the Hindu's loyalty with a sacred character, freeing it at once from the stigma of utilitarianism, the growing bane of an over-utilitarian age. But the Hindu's attachment to the Person of the Sovereign, while it is *instinctive*, is also founded on a conception of Sovereignty which ennobles and exalts Hindu loyalty to an extent which places it on an immutable basis. For, there are two points of view from which the question of Hindu loyalty may be looked at—the religious, and the political. The Hindu point of view is that the Sovereign is not a mere secular institution, and the Hindu's loyalty therefore, rests on no mere secular basis. This point of view appeals most to the orthodox Hindu populations of India. The idea of the moral government of the world constitutes an essential part of their religious creed. The belief is strongly held that a true government is essentially not secular in its character but forms in some unknown but real manner part of the moral government of the Universe conducted by our Divine Maker. The purely secular or, as we may more properly call it, the political, point of view is not primarily present in a conception of this form of government; but a political government if its interests are subordinated or made conducive to the highest interests of morality and righteousness, may well aspire to claim affinity with the ideal of a divinely ordered system of government. In the religious conception of government, the King is not merely the symbol or representative of a people's political power and authority but is regarded also as intended to direct, mould and regulate such power and authority along channels conducive to the promotion of the highest interests of Humanity,—national Righteousness and Collective Moral Good. Kingship is with the orthodox believer among Hindus, a sacred institution and not a mere utilitarian force destined to promote and compass utilitarian, political ends. The King is endowed with the highest mission and consequently with the highest power. That those powers may be or are sometimes or occasionally abused by the kingly representatives of divine authority does not make any difference in the orthodox ideal of kingship. For, it is the ~~which~~

counts in the progress of a people, or in the onward march of Humanity. The ideal of sovereignty is not of power, but of power directed to the attainment of a definite aim—namely, the exaltation of the principle of righteousness in the lives of men and nations in the economy of the world. The formulation of the principle of right conduct, corporate and individual, is no longer among the Western civilised nations left in the hands of a *priestly* class, but is taken up by the entire body of thinking people in the country, and an unwritten code of public opinion is formed from time to time which sways and directs the judgments and consciences of those wielding sovereign authority. The separation of the State from the Church does not mean and cannot mean that the ideal of sovereignty is to be brought down from its high pedestal, is to be debased and relegated to the category of instruments intended to promote merely utilitarian ends. The highest Statecraft and the highest Imperialism should not be inconsistent with the ideal of Kingship or which is the same thing, with the ideal of Sovereignty such as we have sketched above,—the ideal, namely, of the highest power and authority so wielded as to be made contributory to the development of peoples and nations along lines of righteousness and good morality. On any other assumption, kingship falls from its high pedestal and would be liable to be so used as to subserve purposes which would mean the ultimate ruin of all higher civilisation.

(B)

According to the orthodox conception, therefore, the Sovereign is an inseparable factor in a people's life, the Sovereign and People being parts of one common system of government which is to promote the ideals of national righteousness and national right-living. The objection that is raised to the dominance of the priestly class in the orthodox scheme of government must not be allowed to obscure the more primary factor in the question, namely, that the ideal of sovereignty or kingship as insisted upon by that class definitely seeks to instal the principle of righteousness and right-living in the affairs and the government of a community, making it the one great object for which the Sovereign exists. The ideal being once accepted, it does not matter if the Western civilised peoples are able to devise and organise any other agency than that of a body of "priests", an agency fitted and able to give the lead in the promotion and development of the accepted ideal. But the great drawback is to get the ideal accepted as lying at the ~~base~~ of a right conception of sovereign authority, whether vested in a single individual or in any organised body.

Such being the ideal, the worship of the Sovereign follows as a matter of course, for the Sovereign is endowed with a high and sacred mission, namely, that of enforcing the highest laws—the divine laws of righteous conduct. The *true* object of reverence, however, is neither the body of thinkers formulating the laws—(whether known as Brahmins, Priests, Lawgivers, or the Legislature), nor the Sovereign (whether a single monarch or a corporate body with or without a monarch at its head), but it is the essential, immutable *Laws* which go to build up, promote and incorporate the highest ideals of righteous living, whether national or individual. In the orthodox conception, the Sovereign comes next to the Law, or the Code which embodies the Law and is himself subject to the Law, not above it, as is often wrongly imagined. The Sovereign is held as divine, not because he is to transcend all Law, but only because he is the highest champion of the (divine) *Law*—the Dharma, and the utmost loyalty and reverence are accordingly due to the Sovereign for he upholds the Law or Dharma in the actual government of a people. At the present day, among Western peoples the existing body of thoughts and ideas or the public opinion in a given community takes shape in a body of Laws, and according to the orthodox conception, the highest reverence is due to these Laws, which, if they tend to promote national Righteousness, are to be regarded as founded on divine authority. The divine character would be immediately stamped upon them if the ideal of righteous living, of Dharma (corporate or individual) is among the objects aimed at. The Laws, then, according to the orthodox view, are but the expression of the Highest Ideals present in a given community as the result of the efforts of the best thinkers and embodied in a Code either, as at the present day, by an organised Legislature, or, as of old, by the great Lawgivers. But the whole point is that those who issue the Laws, the framers of the Laws, those in fact who originate, initiate or codify these Laws are, in the orthodox view, *never* the 'Sovereign' authority; for the Laws, *if they are directed to subserve the highest ends of morality and righteousness*, are always regarded as founded on principles of divine government of the world and in no sense as the expression of the will of any mere secular authority.

The Sovereign, then, (whether sovereignty is vested in a single individual or in a corporation)—is not with us the possessor of mere authority, but the channel through which such authority is used or utilised to uphold the Law; and undoubtedly such a conception not only exalts kingship by enhancing its responsibility as a factor of the highest moral value in the government of a People, but it also proportionately enhances the ~~value~~ of a subject's loyalty to the King or Sovereign as a matter of the highest spiritual significance to him;

for loyalty to the Sovereign in the view here presented, is loyalty to the upholder of the Law, not to the wielder of any arbitrary authority.

III. MODERN IDEALS OF UTILITARIAN LOYALTY

(A)

In securing and maintaining the loyalty of the great unsophisticated masses who constitute the vast population of India, everything should be done to promote among them their conception of Law as something which rests on the immutable, fundamental basis of Morality, Truth and Righteousness, and to promote also the conception of the Sovereign as the champion or the upholder of the Law. The spiritualisation, not the secularisation of the conception of Law—no matter who originates the same, the priests and law-givers as of old, or their modern representatives, the Legislature,—is the one necessary step to revitalise and make dynamic the enthusiasm which lies deep and immanent in the Hindu consciousness. The tendency to the secularisation of every conception of life which is everywhere visible, would have only one effect, namely, to undermine the spiritual basis of Hindu loyalty,—an asset of incalculable value which has come down to us through the ages—and to substitute for it another conception of loyalty which is far less strong,—that of loyalty due to the Sovereign as the political head of a political organisation, of a politically united community. The conception of loyalty based on the abstract conception of a *State* as a political entity is a Western importation and takes away from the Sovereign that higher title which is associated with his mission of upholding the Law of Righteousness in the affairs of the community over whom he is placed. The Sovereign in a purely political *regime* becomes an adjunct of the State, part but not always the most important part of a soulless machinery intended and adjusted in all its different parts to register and give effect to the political wishes and desires of a political community,—and hardly emerges as a Power which makes for righteousness and whose title to the exercise of authority is, therefore, based on his high vocation. In the political *regime*, therefore, the united political community is practically the more important factor drawing to itself all the forces of love, loyalty and reverence which under the orthodox scheme belongs especially to the Sacred Personality of the Sovereign. Men like the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sankara Nair who would desire to treat their loyalty to the Sovereign as an expression of their loyalty to a political organisation (called the *State*)¹ embodying

1. "Progress by common consent of the civilised mankind is identified with, and in India in particular it is dependent upon, the unqualified recognition of supremacy of the *State*."—From the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sankara Nair's letter to Mrs. Annie Besant *anent* the proposed Hindu University, published in the Calcutta daily newspapers under date November 11, 1911.

and enforcing the wills of the members of such organisation forget or are hardly aware of the fact that they are thereby undermining the ingrained loyalty of the people to the Person of the Sovereign, nurtured as it is upon conceptions of his highest spiritual vocation as the upholder of the Law. The part played by the "priestly class"—their dominance in the past is a source of perpetual terror to most of us moderns, but if the truth must be told it is not so exclusive a characteristic of the older *regime* as is imagined; for, in fact, under the modern scheme, there is always and everywhere a counterpart to the priestly class—namely, the whole body of men, who by their superior moral and intellectual ascendancy direct the thoughts and ideals of their community and whose theories and views of life sooner or later find due recognition at the hands of our modern judges and law-makers. So there is as much or as great a danger now as of old, of the thoughts and feelings of a community being dominated by the greater thinkers and the legislators of our time along particular channels; and one may equally be disposed to regard such intellectual and moral ascendancy exercised by the modern representatives of the older priestly class as imposing a sort of "spiritual bondage" on the masses from which "emancipation" is necessary, if higher and higher ideals of living, corporate and individual, are to become part of the growing, evolutionary lives of men and peoples. "The divine right," if we would truly grasp the essence of the thing, never belongs to this or that class, priestly or other, high or low, but to those *ideals and principles*—whether enunciated by the older priests, or by their more modern representatives—which uphold the doctrines of Morality and Righteousness in the constitution and the governance of a community. The point of our contention is that the "priestly class," in the sense of a dominant class, dominant by their moral, intellectual and spiritual ascendancy, who give the lead to a community,—the point of our contention is that such a class, however named, has always existed and must always exist in every community and the "bondage" or allegiance paid to them is at bottom one of the conditions on which the progress or evolution of a community

2. "Hinduism is still in that low stage of civilisation marked by a belief that divine right belongs to the priestly class, the sentiments of that class itself being the absolute standard of right."—From Mr. Justice Sankara Nair's letter to Mrs. Annie Besant, *vide* footnote 1.

3. "Such being the case progress of India is dependent upon the emancipation of its thought from the spiritual bondage."—From Mr. Justice Sankara Nair's letter to Mrs. Besant; *vide* footnotes 1 and 2.

4. *Vide* in foot note 2 above, the statement "the divine right belongs to the priestly class" in Mr. Justice Sankara Nair's letter to Mrs. Besant.

ultimately rests. There ought to be then no fear of a "priestly class" in the sense explained; but there is a fear that the ideas and ideals preached and formulated by that class under the older or under the more modern *regime* may not always be conducive to or may even be subversive of, the highest interests of Morality and Righteousness. The orthodox conception of Sovereignty thus rests on the vocation of the Sovereign authority as the upholder of the Law—the Law of Righteousness and Morality, corporate and individual, and should never be^d confounded with or obscured by conceptions of the dominance of any particular class in a community at any given time, who by their superior spiritual, moral, and intellectual ascendancy regulates and directs the thoughts and ideals of that community.

(B)

Orthodox loyalty, then, rests on a superior conception of loyalty and must in no way be sought to be degraded to the utilitarian level of a political loyalty. The foundations of political loyalty rests on our present day notion of the value of political union as essential to the progress of a community; the foundations of orthodox loyalty rests on the value which Humanity must always attach to the conceptions of Morality and Righteousness, the conceptions of *Dharma* as the ultimate regulating factor in the lives of individuals and the government of communities, whether formed on a political or other basis. There is a danger that under the influence of modern political ideas, the utilitarian political conception of loyalty may be unduly exalted at the expense of the higher, the spiritual conception, in which case loyalty to the Sovereign would lose its sacred character and would begin to be appraised at its utilitarian value, namely, the value which ought to be attached to it as a political factor in a people's life. We have evidence that in England in the forties and fifties of the last century, under the dominance of ultra-political ideals, men began openly to discuss whether loyalty to the *State* is not all that is required in a modern progressive community, and whether Royalty might not be treated as a wholly superfluous adjunct of the State. Such a view of things is possible only among communities dominated by a purely utilitarian ideal of sovereignty, the ideal, namely, that treats the Sovereign as performing a purely political function. In a leading article which appeared in the columns of the *Calcutta Statesman* on the day of the great ceremony of the Coronation of Their Imperial Majesties the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress in the Westminster Abbey (June 22, 1911), the fact to which we have just adverted is thus prominently brought out:—"Men who have passed the meridian of life can remember that in their boyhood ~~they~~ ^{us} were used to be in England

quite a considerable body of republican sentiment. People openly denounced the costliness of royalty, and scoffed at what they described as its absurd pomp and show. Today, not a word of such protest can be heard. The nation accepts the pomp and show with delight; it asks for more and does not grudge a penny of the cost. We believe that the real cause of this undoubted change in public sentiment at home is the brilliant personal success of Victoria's long reign. Her predecessors had never been popular. Those who were not disliked were despised. Nearly half of her reign had been completed before the unpopularity which Royalty had inherited from her predecessors had worn off. If sovereigns of the earlier Georgian type had continued to succeed to one another, the probability is that Royalty would have disappeared from England. Queen Victoria's success was followed by a briefer but equally brilliant success on the part of King Edward, and the nation became intellectually convinced of the tremendous value of royalty to the Empire. At the present moment, so far as it is possible to see ahead, royalty is firmly established as perhaps the most popular of all the institutions of the British Government. Long may it so remain ! ”

Similarly, also, we read in Mr. W. T. Stead's well-known book “The Queen and the Empire,”—a memorial volume of the great Jubilee of June 22, 1897—the following statements :—“Those who were born after the fifties can form no conception of the strength of the hold of the Republican idea upon many Englishmen. Byron's vigorous verse and the revolutionary poetry of Shelley were but the most conspicuous expressions of a sentiment which found many minor exponents from Moore to Ebenezer Elliott...The idealist, the visionary, the poet, and the philosopher all talked and thought as if Monarchy was an anachronism—a belated survival which must speedily vanish from a world in which enlightened humanity would have no more use for kings...In the interviews and articles which in those days used to appear in the Press discussing the probable date of the overthrow of the Monarchy, it was openly said that while the Queen lived nothing will be done. ‘But mark my words, Sir,’ the Republican apostles will declare, ‘that young man’ (referring to His late Imperial Majesty, Edward VII then Prince of Wales)—‘will never ascend the throne. It will never be permitted.’” (*Ibid.*, pp. 13, 14, and 20).

(C)

Such sentiments and ideas are begotten only of a utilitarian conception of loyalty—a conception which represents the King as performing a purely political function, not always the most important,

as an adjunct of the State. The dominant idea associated with the Western conception of loyalty and giving tone and colour to it is the sovereignty or the *supremacy of the people organised as State* to win power and secular greatness; the motive idea behind Indian orthodox loyalty is the sovereignty or supremacy of the Law of Dharma, Righteousness and Morality—with the King installed in the seat of the Highest to uphold and maintain the Law and Dharma. We are of opinion that the importation of the Western *State-Ideal* of loyalty amongst masses of people whose allegiance to the Sovereign is in essence one of spiritual import is charged with elements of serious mischief which it would be folly not to recognise, and men like the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sankara Nair, who would feign substitute for the orthodox conception the modern utilitarian ideal which exalts the *State* above the Sovereign, little know or feel that by their conduct they are not forwarding but, on the contrary, are undermining the principles of loyalty among vast masses of the Indian populations among whom the kingly office is an emblem of high spiritual value and whose loyalty correspondingly share in the spiritual element. It is the least part of wisdom for educated Indians to seek to shift the foundations of Indian loyalty already deep, fervent, instinctive and spiritual, and to plant it on an unstable secular basis, the basis of political expediency. The *Pioneer* of Allahabad in its issue of 24th January, 1901, two days after the demise of our first Queen-Empress, Victoria the Good, observed :—

“Queen Victoria came to the throne when English personal loyalty, as it had been known before the Revolution, was wellnigh extinct. The public temper towards the Throne was part of the troubled mood into which the nation had been brought by bad times and fierce political conflict; but it is notorious that a great number of the dispassionately thinking educated men inclined to look with favour on republicanism, and that many more regarded it as an inevitable phase of the progress of democratic institutions like successive extensions of the franchise. We all know today how entirely such ideas have been obliterated, and that the warmest Radical is as convinced as the stoutest Tory that whatever goes Monarchy must *stagnate*.” And the *Pioneer* article went on to explain that all this resurgence of loyalty was due primarily to the personality of the Monarch, and also to the growth of an Empire extending to the uttermost parts of the earth, of which the Monarch was at once the symbol and the only uniting link. Similar sentiments find expression in the following extract from an article in the *Times of India* of January 23, 1901 :—“There have been periods during the long reign of Queen

Victoria when it was thought a most preposterous thing to speculate upon the chances of a prolonged continuance of the Monarchy. Today, as at any time during the last twenty years, this would be an idle occupation. If the last thing that will exercise men's minds at the opening of a new reign will be the prospect of an endurance of the monarchical principle among our institutions, we owe this very largely, perhaps mainly, to the scrupulousness and the wisdom with which the Sovereign who has just passed away filled her high place. Henceforth the Monarchy must continue as Queen Victoria has left it." That Western loyalty is based wholly on utilitarian considerations and has nothing in it which is of high spiritual significance is thus brought out in the following further extract from the same article :—"We English are intensely loyal to our Sovereign, but it is a loyalty with eyes open and with discrimination unfettered. It would be easy to prove from contemporary criticism with what an utter absence of reserve our forefathers pronounced their judgments upon predecessors of the Queen who had none of her high claims to the love and the respect of the nation. The merest hint, for example, at the spirit in which the *Times*, while the grave of George IV was still open, summed up the qualities of that monarch will show that the attitude of the English people towards the monarchy is a rational, a discriminating, and when need be, a critical one."

Similarly also, we note in the sermon delivered on February 2, 1901, by the Lord Bishop Welldon at St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta soon after Queen-Empress Victoria's demise, in the presence of a large congregation including the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, and Lady Curzon,—a repetition of the idea that it was only the personality of the Monarch aided by the growth of the British Empire and of the Imperial sentiment that has supplied to the English people a strong, impelling motive for rallying again round the banner of Monarchy :—"Queen Victoria came to the Throne as a mere girl, in an hour that was charged with peril for the ancient dynasties of Europe. The echoes of the Revolution of 1830 were then in men's ears. It was widely thought, and freely declared that monarchical government in Europe was already doomed. There was not a Sovereign in Europe who did not tremble for his Throne. It is largely due to Her Majesty's example of a constitutional sovereignty, harmonising the dignity of the Crown with the rights of the people that the Kingdoms of Europe are more stable now than they have been at any time in the last century, and her own, most stable of them all. Again, when the Queen came to the Throne, an Imperial spirit, an Imperial loyalty, was a thing unknown. But the Queen has succeeded in welding the colonies and dependencies of Great Britain, by uniting

them to herself; she has been the mother of her subjects all the world over." The following observations of one of England's own Prime Ministers,—Lord Rosebery—on our first Queen-Empress, immediately after her demise, also bear upon the same principle, namely, that of the personality of the Monarch as the determining factor in shaping the attitude of Western peoples towards the principle of Monarchy:—"She has strengthened all righteous, all upright monarchs, and I believe that in the United States to-day you will find hundreds and thousands, nay millions of upright, ardent and convinced republicans opposed to monarchy in every shape and form, but who will make reservation, both mental and spoken—that of the Sovereign of these islands and the Throne she occupies. She has maintained the Monarchy and raised the Monarchy."

We trust enough has been said to convince the unprejudiced mind that the Problem of Loyalty in India must be approached along lines different from those propounded by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sankara Nair. The Western ideal on which the last named gentleman pins his faith is the State-ideal of loyalty based, as we have taken pains to explain in such detail, primarily on considerations of political expediency. Would it be wise, aye, even expedient, for educated India, we ask again, to shift the foundations of Indian loyalty already deep, fervent, instinctive and spiritual, and plant the same on an unstable secular basis, the basis of political expediency? The question admits of only one answer. We have something more to say on the subject which must be reserved for a future occasion.

RAJPUT PAINTING

BY DR. A. K. COOMARASWAMY, D. Sc.

[NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—We would request the lay reader to study this important contribution on the subject of *Rajput Painting* from the pen of Dr. Coomaraswamy in the light of the *Editorial Note* which immediately follows. The present article presupposes on the part of the reader a preliminary knowledge of a considerable body of literature scattered in the pages of monographs, reviews, magazines and journals of learned Societies. In view of the above circumstance and also of the supreme importance of the subject from the point of view of Indian Culture and Civilisation, we have deemed it desirable that the text of Dr. Coomaraswamy's article should be supplemented by a body of explanatory notes, for the special benefit of our lay readers. We trust that Dr. Coomaraswamy will be pleased to view the matter in our light and make allowance for the anxiety which has led us to append a somewhat lengthy Editorial Note. The figures 1, 2, 3 up to 13 to be found in the body of the article correspond, as will be seen, not to any footnotes, but to notes under the

sub-section, *Explanatory*, forming part of the *Editorial Note*. We have also taken the liberty of presenting the article under six separate sections, thus, I, II, III,...for the greater convenience of the uninstructed reader.]

I

Before describing Rajput painting,¹ a few words² may be said about 'Persian and Mughal.'³ The term Indo-Persian should now be definitely reserved for certain work (of whatever date, but *mostly early*) in which there is a real mixture of two styles: an almost equivalent, dynastic term is 'Early Mughal,' that is, work done under Mughal patronage up to the earlier part of the reign of Jahangir. This Indo-Persian painting includes (a) Indian copies of the illustrations to Persian romances—usually decidedly inferior to the originals, (b) illuminations in a similar style illustrating Persian translations of Hindu books⁴ such as the Ramayan, Yoga Vashista, Kalilah and Dimnah, Suz-u-gudaz—(these are often of the highest interest and often have really great qualities; but the landscape remains exceedingly artificial): (c) separate pictures in a similar style illustrating Persian romances such as Laila-Majnum⁵: (d) portraits combining Indian and Persian features.

II•

This represents the earlier stage of Mughal art. Mughal painting proper belongs to the seventeenth century—before that, it is developing; after, it is declining. In the seventeenth century the vigorous Central Asian (Mughal) influence⁶ predominates over the more effeminate Persian (Seffevidean) element⁷ and the definitely Indo-Persian work becomes relatively unimportant. At the same time, the indigenous, Indian element more and more asserts itself, and the art develops from one of illustration to one of picture-painting. The majority of the actual painters were Hindus and much of their work is of a corresponding character. The foreign (Mughal) element is most apparent in portraiture, in the intense interest taken in the delineation of personal character: the more romantic subjects are purely Indian, or foreign only in details of dress or architecture.

In the eighteenth century, Mughal Art steadily declined. Its chief patrons were the Nawabs of Oudh. The art was essentially courtly and aristocratic, and fell away with the decay of the corresponding culture. It is now only represented by the ivory miniature painting of Delhi, which is rather a trade than an art.

III

The Mughal art is secular and dramatic in its content, excelling most in portraiture. Its outlook is essentially upon the present moment; it is deeply interested in the doings of aristocratic men. It is not an

idealisation of life, so much as the representation of it. Hence, no doubt, its greater interest to a majority of modern students. Very different in temper is the Rajput Art: the gulf between Hindu and Persian Painting is wide indeed. The former, as Abul Fasl has said, 'surpasses our conception of things'. It has a range of content and depth of passion, foreign to the sentimental Persian idylls and brutal battle and hunting scenes, and rarely touched in the Mughal studies of individual character. All the self-restraint and the abandonment, the purity and wild extravagance, the tenderness and fury of Hinduism find expression here. The art is epic, lyric and religious in spirit and idealistic* in manner. Good portraiture is comparatively rare. The art is essentially popular, sure of itself, and of its appeal to those for whom it was made. It would be difficult to exaggerate the poetry and the romantic tenderness of the best of the Rajput paintings or overpraise their designing: on the other hand, there is a mass of merely mythological production very crude in manner and merely sectarian in interest. The popularity of the art is curiously illustrated by the enormous sale which is found for the garish German oleographs after old Hindu pictures, that abound in every bazar.

IV

The Rajput painting is the descendant of that art of tempera painting which we lose sight of at Ajanta, and of the mediæval painting of which we have little extant traces," though there can be no doubt that the art existed continuously. I agree with Mrs. Herringham¹⁰ that even the latest work at Ajanta represents a still developing art: the zenith of Indian painting was probably reached a century or two centuries later.

The art as we find it in the sixteenth century is decadent only in the sense that it has obviously,—in spite of its still marvellous beauty,—fallen away from a greater level of achievement.

Whereas the whole development of Hindu and Buddhist painting covers nearly two milleniums, of Mughal art covers hardly two centuries. The Hindu art changed very slowly. Thus Mughal work is easy to date, because the styles succeed each other rapidly: it is sometimes much more difficult to estimate the date of a Rajput picture. Rather bad work was done even in the sixteenth century: some good work even in the nineteenth. At one point in the seventeenth century, Rajput and Mughal art approach very closely: much of the work done by Hindu artists for Hindu or Mughal patrons at the courts is in a sense Mughal, and at the same time in almost every essential character, Rajput. Perhaps such work may be described as ~~Indo-~~Mughal.

V

I now proceed to briefly describe the characters, other than those already referred to, which serve to distinguish Rajput from Mughal and Persian Art.

First, as to subject-matter. Vaishnava and Saivite legends (especially Krishna subjects) predominate. Many pictures illustrate the Great War, or the wanderings of Rama and Sita and the taking of Lanka. Some are purely mythological and more or less grotesque. Pictures of rāgs and rāginis are purely Indian: domestic and general subjects, animals, trees, and sacred places are also characteristic.

The names of artists are never recorded. (In early Mughal art they are often given, afterwards they are rare). Description of pictures, and names of colours noted on sketches, are usually written in Nagari character. The Rajput painting belongs to all Northern India, especially Rajputana and the Panjab Himalayas. (The Mughal art belongs entirely to the cities, and was patronised only at the great courts, Lahore, Agra, Delhi, etc.). Foreign influences are rare, but when present, quite definite, *e.g.*, Chinese in Rajputana. (In the synthetic Mughal art they are so fused as to be almost inseparable). Rajput art has the unity of 13th century Gothic. Old Buddhist elements survive in it. Amongst these are the 'parinirvana' composition of death scenes,¹¹ manner of drawing water (spiral convention), and trees, constant use of lotus lakes and flowers, and the tender feeling for birds and animals.

The landscape is Indian. The low hills of Rajputana and white peaks of the Himalayas are constantly represented. The treatment is constantly most 'Early Italian' in manner. Cranes and quails, lotus ponds, Indian trees are represented. Silver is often used to represent water. The spiral symbol for water and the angular margins of lakes and ponds are specially characteristic.

The scale is often large. Wall paintings and paper cartoons approaching life size¹² are not unusual. In Mughal work wall pictures are rare and the paper pictures are always small.

VI

These are the chief characteristics of Rajput painting. If ever it is possible to write in full the history of painting in India, this is this art of the country itself which must form its main thesis. Compared with the significance of this religious art, so romantic and impassioned, even the brilliant achievements of the Persian, Central Asian and Indian painters at the Mughal Courts must be treated as an episode.

The Mughal painting however showed that it was still possible to found a new art on the basis of the old traditions: foreign influences

were, not easily, but at least effectually assimilated and the result was that new and great art of which the finest examples date from the reign of Jahangir. Perhaps this possibility of assimilating foreign influences and creating a new art in which traditional elements still on the whole predominate may be taken as a hopeful sign for the future development of Indian painting; for it is already along these lines that the latest movement¹⁸ tends.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

"RAJPUT PAINTING"

NOTE BY THE EDITOR

I. Introductory

As pointed out in the *Explanatory Notes* (given below under a separate heading) which we owe to our able and learned colleague, Professor Rabindra Narayan Ghosh, M.A., since writing an important and much appreciated article on *Originality in Mughal Painting* in the July, 1910 number of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London), Dr. Coomaraswamy has had renewed opportunities of study in India, where he has spent almost a whole year over researches into his favourite subject of Indian Art (with special reference to Indian Painting), in the elucidation of which by means of magazine articles, books, monographs, addresses etc., he has been rendering a service which the student of Indian Culture and Civilisation will not willingly forget. The result of this renewed Indian study has been to emphasise in his mind the importance of the Rajput or the indigenous Hindu schools not only as representing an **independent, ancient and so far little known art**, but also, as he is able to show, as supplying the fundamental basis of the Mughal Painting of the 17th century. For some time the prevailing opinion among Western art-critics had been that there existed no indigenous Hindu schools during Mughal and post-Mughal times. The cry had gone forth that Indian Painting since the 16th century A.D. was almost an adaptation or an imitation of Persian Painting; or in the alternative, was partly also, although slightly, energised by Central Asian influence, from Samarkhand and Bokhara (whence the Mughal House of Delhi had originally migrated). Dr. Coomaraswamy's contribution to the question has been twofold: *Firstly*,—he has shown definitely that the Mughal school of Indian Painting drew its inspiration primarily from Indian sources and that the influence from Central Asia, although it was clear and distinct, was still inferior to the Indian factor in the Mughal Painting of the 16th and 17th centuries; while the influence of Persia was the least of all. And, *secondly*, Dr. Coomaraswamy has explained that there existed distinct and independent schools of Hindu Painting in the Panjab Himalayas (Kangra) and Rajputana styled by himself as "Rajput Painting," which must be accorded a supreme place in the history of Hindu Painting of Mughal and post-Mughal times. "If ever," says Dr.

Coomaraswamy in the course of his article in this number, "it is possible to write in full the history of Painting in India, it is the art of the country itself which must form its main thesis. Compared with the significance of this religious art, so romantic and impassioned, even the brilliant achievements of the Persian, Central Asian and Indian painters at the Mughal Courts must be treated as an episode." It is to this indigenous Hindu school of religious painting of the Mughal and post-Mughal times that Dr. Coomaraswamy gives the name of "Rajput Painting," a school which stands by itself supreme and uncontaminated by any foreign influence, and which, in the language used by him in his present article, "is the descendant of that art of (tempera) painting which we lose sight of at Ajanta, and of the mediæval painting of which we have little or no extant traces, though there can be little doubt that the art existed continuously." In his recently published work, *Indian Drawings*, issued under the auspices of the India Society of London (1910), Dr. Coomaraswamy thus definitely refers to this wholly indigenous school of Hindu Painting of the 16th and 17th centuries which had eluded the critical observation of so many of our art-critics:—"I now proceed to the description of purely Indian drawings which can be definitely designated as Rajput; in these there is no trace of foreign influence, Persian, Tartar* or European...The Rajput paintings and drawings probably equal in abundance as they exceed in seriousness and religiousness of content those of the Mughal schools. But whereas in the Mughal school, we have an art which developed, attained its perfection and declined within a period of a hundred and fifty years and owed much to foreign as well as to indigenous influences, in the Rajput school we have to do with the latest work of a much older, more enduring and altogether indigenous tradition" (*Ibid.*, pp. 20-22).

The importance of this indigenous Hindu school of Painting of the 16th and 17th centuries was first, it appears, recognised by Dr. Coomaraswamy, who in an important article in the *Modern Review* (Calcutta) for August, 1907 drew pointed attention to the works of the painters of the Kangra valley as "representing a more definitely Hindu tradition." In the *First Exhibition of Oriental Painting* held in Calcutta on the 29th January, 1908 and succeeding days, under the auspices of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, a collection of old Indian Paintings were exhibited which included specimens of Kangra Valley painting; and in the official Catalogue issued by the Society, we find on p. 14 the following explanatory note: "Two chief schools existed in Northern India—the Delhi or Lucknow (school), and the painters of the Kangra Valley. The first school was, as stated, of purely Persian origin. The painters of the Kangra Valley dealt with a wider range of subjects, and according to a well qualified and sympathetic Indian critic (Ananda K. Coomaraswamy,

* Central Asian or pure Mughal as distinguished from Indo-Mughal (which is a compound of Hindu, Central Asian and Persian elements). The phrase, *Indo-Mughal* ordinarily becomes *Mughal*, while *Central Asian* (or Tartar) has been used as a substitute for Mughal, *properly* called.

in the *Modern Review*, August, 1907) represent a more definitely Hindu tradition which elsewhere, and specially in the South, remained more formal and attained less technical perfection." In his article on the "Originality of Mughal Painting" written in March, 1910 and appearing in the July, 1910 number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, we find Dr. Coomaraswamy regretting the fact that "the Rajput paintings have been entirely ignored by almost all writers, though even from a purely archaeological point of view their importance is great as representing the continuation of the true *medieval* Hindu traditions." In Sir George Watt's *Indian Art at Delhi*, in the chapter on *Fine Arts* contributed by Mr. Percy Brown, the present Principal of the Government School of Art, Calcutta, then Assistant Director of the Delhi Art Exhibition (1902-03) we find no mention at all of the indigenous Hindu schools of Painting of the 16th and 17th centuries which were so wholly free from all foreign influences. The works of the Mughal school are referred to by Mr. Percy Brown in the chapter on Fine Arts, but only to say that they owed almost wholly to Persian influences, and very slightly (to Chinese, and through Chinese) to Mughal, influences and nothing to indigenous Hindu influences (*Ibid.*, p. 455); whereas we know now, thanks to the labours of Havell, Coomaraswamy and others, † that the Persian influence was the least and the Hindu influence the greatest, while the Central Asian (Mughal) influence was considerably greater than the Persian influence. That was in 1902-1903. We note, however, that Mr. Percy Brown in his *Nineteenth Century* (January, 1910) article on the *Mughal School of Painting* makes some reference to the Kangra school of painters, but only to say that "it is difficult to account for the influence of this community of painters in a comparatively unimportant district of the Panjab Himalayas, but it produced very characteristic pictures until about fifty years ago."

† In his recently published work *Ideals of Indian Art* (September, 1911), Mr. Havell thus writes:—"Owing to the presence of the Persian artists at the Mughal Court, European critics have generally classified all the paintings of the time under the name of Indo-Persian, assuming as so many have done with regard to early Indian Buddhist sculpture, that the creative impulse in Indian art came always from without instead of from within...The Persian painters at Akbar's Court were neither technically nor artistically superior to the Hindus...Regarded as a whole the Indian school of Painting of the Mughal epoch is as distinct and original in artistic expression as any of the schools of Persia, China or Japan" (*Ibid.*, pp. 141-142). So also Dr. Coomaraswamy in his *Indian Drawings* (1910):—"Indian painting as a whole is in no sense Persian or a part of Persian Art. The Rajput schools are entirely independent of Persia; and even the Mughal style when fully developed owes more to indigenous and to Central Asian than to Persian sources" (*Ibid.*, p. 5). Again, in the *J. R. A. S.* (July 1910) article, he thus observes:—"Scarcely one of Akbar's own painters produced any work of real importance, because of the very fact that they were so largely occupied in imitating Persian mannerisms. Mughal painting as an independent style belongs to the sixteenth century. The true Mughal style developed very rapidly after about 1600 A.D. The term, "Indo-Persian," is only properly applicable to the early Mughal style: it does not rightly describe the later Mughal work, still less the painting of the Rajput schools."

II.—Explanatory.

1. "*Rajput Painting*."—This is the name given by Dr. Coomaraswamy to the paintings of the indigenous Hindu Schools of the Kangra Valley, Jaipur, and other parts of Northern India, which flourished side by side with the Mughal schools of Painting which had their centre at the Mughal Court. See Note 3 for a connected account of their relations with the Mughal and Persian schools with which they are often confused.

2. "*Persian and Mughal Painting*".—The term, 'Persian Painting,' is properly applicable only to the work of the Persian schools of Tabriz, Khorasan and other centres of Persian art, or to their imitations in India. They are met with mostly in manuscripts of Persian romances. The term 'Mughal Painting', again, should be strictly reserved for the work of the Central Asian schools of Samarkhand and Bokhara and to their Indian adaptations at the court of the Great Mughals.

3. "*A few words*".—The present article by Dr. Coomaraswamy presupposes on the part of the reader a preliminary idea of our present knowledge of the whole subject of 16th and 17th century Indian painting, Persian, Mughal, as well as Rajput. As however the literature on the subject is to be found scattered in the pages of monographs, reviews, magazines and journals of learned societies, we attempt below a very short connected history of the prevailing views on the subject which will enable our readers to appreciate and understand the definite advance made by Dr. Coomaraswamy on the positions held by previous writers on the subject.

The vast mass of North Indian paintings dating from the 16th century downwards has hitherto been known variously as the Mughal, Indo-Persian, or under some such general designations, implying (1) that most of it was executed under the patronage of the Mughal courts of Delhi and Agra, and (2) that it was mostly an Indian imitation or adaptation of Persian painting. M. Maïndron, a French writer, in his book *L'Art Indien* (p. 154), says: "Except as regards the costume of the persons represented they have nothing to do with Indian Art. All are purely Persian." Mr. Roger Fry, a distinguished English art-critic, in an article on "Oriental Art" contributed to the *Quarterly Review*, January, 1910, says of the Mughal paintings that they are merely "debased Persian." Mr. Laurence Binyon, author of *Painting in the Far East*, says on p. 158 of that book—"Persian painting dies away in India." And finally, Mr. V. A. Smith, the distinguished archæologist, and author of *The Early History of India*, in his article on Archæology in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II. (p. 131), after quoting a passage from the *Ain-i-Akbari*, remarks: "This interesting passage proves that the Mughal school of painting was inspired by European as well as Persian models. Although the imitative Hindus attained conspicuous skill in the assimilation of foreign methods, no genuine school of painting was founded by Akbar's well-meant efforts." In keeping with the views of these well-known writers, Indian paintings of the

Mughal period are always classed as Persian in the catalogues of most European collections. It was Mr. Havell who first pointed out the distinction between Persian and Indo-Mughal work in his *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (p. 190), remarking that in the Mughal style, the true spirit of Indian art had triumphed over the stiffness and mannerisms of contemporary Persian schools. This distinction between Persian and Indian work is further emphasized by a French writer, M. Gaston Migeon, author of a volume on Musulman Art, who, on p. 52, vol. II. of that work, remarks that whereas the Persian paintings with their conventional landscapes, uncharacterised human figures and heightened colouring at best amount to a beautiful scheme of manuscript decoration, the Indian paintings with their feeling for nature, close observation, and study of individual characters in portraiture, and striving after atmospheric effects, are more truly to be regarded as painting proper than as manuscript illumination.

A further step in the proper appraising of the different elements which go to make up the Mughal Painting of India was taken by Dr. Coomarswamy when he pointed out, in a note on the 'Originality of Mughal Painting' (J. R. A. S., July, 1910) and in several other writings of his, that three distinct elements—the Indian, the Central Asian (Mughal proper), and the Persian—are to be distinguished in the fully developed Mughal Painting of India, and that the fundamental basis of this Painting was the Indian indigenous element which was supplied by the large body of Hindu painters who formed the majority of those employed at the Mughal court, and whose work is described by Abul Fazl ("Ain-i-Akbari," Blochmann's translation, p. 107) in such high terms as these: "*This is especially true of the Hindus; their pictures surpass our conceptions of things. Few indeed in the whole world are equal to them.*" Next in importance to this Indian element in Mughal painting, according to Dr. Coomaraswamy, is the influence of the vigorous Central Asian (*i.e.* Mughal proper) schools of Samarkhand and Bokhara, with their strong pre-occupation with the representation of individual character in portraiture; and that the Persian element in it, which gradually ceases to make itself felt as the art goes on developing, comes the last in the order of importance.

Not only did Dr. Coomaraswamy point out the supreme importance of the *indigenous* Indian element in the Mughal Painting, but he was also the first to draw pointed attention to the existence during the same period of several independent indigenous schools of Hindu painting in Rajputana, the Kangra Valley, and elsewhere, which, according to him, were entirely untouched by Persian or by Central Asian influence. It is to the vast mass of paintings belonging to these independent Hindu schools, religious and hence popular in their appeal, idealistic and romantic in their conception and treatment, and inheriting the traditions of the old Hindu-Buddhist art of Mediæval India that he has given the name of Rajput Painting. He has touched on the theme of Rajput Painting (in some of his earlier writings on the subject he calls it "Mediæval Hindu Painting" *) more than once in his writings, but since

* *Vide* in the *Modern Review*, for April, 1910, Dr. Coomaraswamy's article on *Mediæval Indian Painting*.

writing them he has had renewed opportunity of study in India, especially when he was engaged in getting together a well-chosen and representative collection of Indian Paintings for the U. P. Exhibition held at Allahabad (Dec. 1910—Feb. 1911). The result of this further study has been the deepening in his mind of the importance of the *Rajput* or indigenous Hindu schools alike as representing an independent, ancient, and so far little known art, and as the fundamental basis of the Mughal painting of the seventeenth century; and in the present article he gives expression to his matured convictions on the subject.

4. "*Persian translations of Hindu books.*"—Many Hindu books, such as the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Yoga Vashishtha, the story of Nala-Damayanti, the Atharva Veda, the Haribansa &c., were translated into Persian at the Court of Akbar and under his orders. A splendidly illuminated copy of the Persian Mahabharat (called the Razm-namah, or "The Book of Wars") which was made for Akbar himself at the cost of £ 40,000 was presented by Emperor Muhammad Shah to Sawai Jai Singh, the founder of Jaipur, and is still in the keeping of the present Maharaja. The Aini-Akbari in an interesting passage gives a detailed account of the vast amount of translation work that was done under Akbar's orders (See *Aini-Akbari* vol. I., Blochmann's *Trans.* p. 102).

On the character and importance of the paintings illustrating these Persian translations of Hindu books, Dr. Coomaraswamy writes in his *Indian Drawings*, p. 8:—"The most interesting 'Early Mughal' work is found in the illustrations to certain books, such as the British Museum *Kalilah and Dimnah*, the Suzugudaz, and my own *Yoga Vasishtha*, where the essentially Indian subject matter, and the absence of the almost despotic tradition of earlier examples such as we find in the illustrations of the Persian romances, made possible the direct expression of the immediate personality of the Indian painter. The book illustrations of this class form a separate and exceedingly important chapter in the history of Indian art about the close of the sixteenth century." And again,— "Although executed for Mughal patrons, they belong essentially to the history of Hindu art."

Kalilah and Dimnah was the name of the Arabic version of the *Panchatantra*, the Indian Book of Fables. The Arabic version itself was based on a previous Pehlevi (or old Persian) version dating from the 6th century, A.D.

5. "*Persian romances such as Laila-Majnun.*"—*Laila-Majnun*, like *Shirin-Khusru*, *Yusuf-Zuleikha* and other Persian romances, is a love story with a Sufi significance running through it. All these romances, in their original Persian, as well as in their later Urdu forms, became very popular in India, and have for a long time formed part of the staple literary culture of Upper India.

6. "*Vigorous Central Asian influence.*"—This Central Asian influence came from Samarkhand and Bokhara, whence the Mughal house of Dehli

had originally come. Painters from Samarkhand were employed at the Mughal Court at Dehli even so late as the reign of Shah Jahan. Their special characteristic is the vigorous expression of individual character in portraiture.

7. "*Seffevidean element.*"—The Seffevidean dynasty founded by Ismail in 1499 restored the national independence of Persia which had been for eight centuries under the alien yoke of Saracen, Turkish and Mongol rulers. Shah Abbas the Great, (1586-1628) the fifth monarch of the dynasty, a contemporary of Akbar and Jahangir, was one of the greatest and most enlightened of rulers that Persia ever saw. He was a patron of letters, and by establishing schools of art he did more for the progress of arts in Persia than any sovereign of whom we have any record.

8. "*That art of tempera painting which we lose sight of at Ajanta.*"—The paintings in the Buddhist caves at Ajanta range in date from the 2nd to the 7th century A. D. They are almost the only specimens of the old Hindu-Buddhist painting of India which have survived to our day.

"*Tempera*" or distemper, is the method of painting in which solid pigments are employed, mixed with a *water* medium in which some kind of gum or gelatinous substance is dissolved to prevent the colours from scaling off. It differs on the one hand from the "*fresco*" proper (*fresco buono*) in which the colours are fixed on the painted surface not by the aid of a gum, but by laying them on while the surface of the stucco ground is still wet ('fresh') and on the other hand it differs from *oil painting* in which the colours are fixed by being dissolved in an oil instead of a water medium. According to Mr. Griffiths, late Principal of the Bombay School of Art, and author of a standard book on the *Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajanta*, the Ajanta paintings are not true frescoes but tempera work (See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. ii., p. 153).⁴⁹ Mr. Havell, however, writes in his *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 171— "The Ajanta paintings are true frescoes, executed by a process similar to that known in Italy as *fresco buono*, though, if Mr. Griffiths is correct, they seem to have been retouched in tempera...." The process employed, both at Ajanta and Sigiri, was doubtless some modification of the present Indian fresco process, and very similar to that used in ancient Egypt, the simplicity of which, as Mr. Griffiths observes, has ensured a durability denied to more recent attempts in Europe, executed with all the aids of modern chemical science.

9. "*The mediæval painting of which we have little extant traces.*"—No extant traces of Hindu or Buddhist painting executed in India between the 7th and the 16th century have as yet been discovered. But that the art continued to flourish is clear from the numerous references to it in contemporary Sanskrit literature, in the writings of Taranath, the Tibetan monk who wrote a History of Buddhism in the 16th century, and in several Chinese writings. These external evidences thus go to corroborate the evidence of the internal indications given by the paintings themselves of the preceding (Ajanta) and the succeeding (Rajput) epochs, such as are noted by Dr. Coomaraswamy and Mrs. Herringham.

10. "*Mrs. Herringham*."—She is a distinguished English art-critic who came out to India more than once during recent years to study on the spot and take copies of the paintings at Ajanta. She was greatly assisted in this work by S. Abanindra Nath Tagore who sent some of his students and disciples, (S. Nandalal Bose, S. Asit Kumar Haldar and a few others), to help her in taking copies. Some of these copies, notably those by S. Nandalal Bose, were exhibited at the Allahabad Exhibition, 1910-11, and were highly admired. Mrs. Herringham is a prominent member of the India Society, London, where she once gave a lecture on the Ajanta paintings, illustrated by her own copies. An article from her pen on 'The Ajanta Frescoes' appeared in the *Burlington Magazine*, June, 1910.

11. "*The Parinirvan composition of death scenes*."—*Parinirvan* is the death of Buddha. The scene of Buddha's death is a frequent subject of representation in all Buddhist art, Indian, Chinese and Japanese. The characteristic composition of this scene, with the reclining figure of Buddha in the centre, surrounded by the mourning figures of monks and disciples, is adhered to in all representations of the subject. Among instances of its use in Rajput Art may be mentioned a picture of the dying Bhishma in Dr. Coomaraswamy's Collection—representing the figure of the old warrior reclining on a bed of arrows in the centre, surrounded on all sides by the mourning Kurus and Pandavas.

12. "*Paper cartoons approaching life size*."—Several such large cartoons from Jaipur, representing, as they do, the later descendant of the older Indian fresco paintings of Ajanta, were exhibited in the Room belonging to the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta in the United Provinces Exhibition held at Allahabad, 1910-1911. [*Vide* the Official Handbook, U. P. Exhibition, p. 31.]

13. "*The latest movement*."—The reference is to the modern school of Indian painting inaugurated by S. Abanindra Nath Tagore of Calcutta and his disciples, notably the late Surendranath Ganguli, S. Nanda Lal Bose, S. Asit Kumar Haldar, S. Venkata Appa, S. Samarendranath Gupta and others, who have ushered in a new era in Indian art-history by adopting the old Indian traditions as the basis of their work, while keeping themselves open to the best influences in Western, Chinese and Japanese Art. Mr. Havell in his *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (1908) thus refers to "this latest Art Movement" in India :—"New India has at last found an artist, Mr. Abanindranath Tagore, to show us something of its real mind, and it is significant that it is revealing itself in a continuity of the old artistic thought, a new expression of former convictions...Mr. Tagore is no longer to be regarded as an isolated phenomenon in modern Indian Art, for in the last two years, since he has been in temporary charge of the Calcutta School of Art, the latter has become the centre of a new school of Indian Painting, founded on the traditions of the old, which already gives fair hopes that a real renaissance in Indian Fine Art is beginning. The two plates Nos. by Mr. Nanda Lal Bose and Mr. Surendra Nath Ganguly, two of the most promising of Mr. Tagore's pupils, must conclude my illustrations of Indian Fine Art, ancient and modern." (*Ibid.*, p. 259, 262-63).

THE PERSONALITY OF OUR KING-EMPEROR

It is clear that our illustrious King-Emperor George V. has in his heart the supreme ambition of identifying himself unreservedly with India and her myriad-voiced populations. Belonging to a race wielding predominant power in another Continent, our illustrious King-Emperor seems to cherish within himself a great, almost overmastering desire that this distance brought about by space and the peculiarities of racial origin should for once cease and that so far as His Majesty is concerned at any rate a bond should be forged between him and his Indian subjects, which shall secure for him a deep and abiding place in their hearts, such as could only ordinarily be won by Indian Monarchs whose destinies are cast amidst Indian surroundings. Thoroughly English in his ideas and prepossessions and holding sway over British subjects scattered throughout the globe, Emperor George V. has nevertheless felt drawn towards us of India by something like a hidden affinity of the spirit, by a secret instinctive sympathy of soul for this historic land of ancient power and ancient greatness. It is difficult for educated Indians of the present day, throbbing with the pulsations of Western utilitarian ideals of life exactly to gauge the depth of that feeling which has prompted our King-Emperor to revisit this land so soon after he had left its shores, and share with us the joys, delights and ecstasies of a great, imposing and never-to-be-forgotten Ceremony on the historic plains of Delhi. Many of us have sought to measure and discover by modern standards, reasons of policy which might have weighed with His Imperial Majesty to come back amongst us so soon after his first visit. Thus, it is argued by some that it was felt that it was necessary to cement the ties of attachment between India and the United Kingdom, and therefore, in pursuance of a deep-laid scheme, the Emperor has come amongst us, and he is going back, now that this mission of high politics has ended, and ended with such signal success. Another idea is that Bengal had to be pacified and united and probably it was better, all things considered, that His Imperial Majesty should be in our midst to break the gladsome news of the annulment of the ill-fated Partition to his sorrowing subjects. And all these and other surmises have appeared to many amongst us to have sufficient force to have supplied the mainsprings of His Majesty's conduct in conferring upon his grateful subjects an unprecedented, the unique honour of announcing in Person on the historic plains of Delhi the Solemnity of His Majesty's Coronation, which had taken place only a few months earlier in the Westminster Abbey of England. Our own belief, however, is that above and beyond all these policies

of State, there was a predominating human side to the transaction which claims our pre-eminent attention as having supplied the strongest motive to the King to traverse long distances at a time when His Majesty's presence at Home was of such supreme moment from the political point of view—the present visit being a second visit, the earlier one by himself as Prince of Wales (which was so very recent) having already furnished His Majesty with some real experience of India. We have a clear conviction that if the strong, over-mastering personal side, a side which in our opinion reflects the highest lustre on His Majesty's heart and soul, were wanting,—it is our firm conviction that if this aspect of the matter did not exist to sway in a powerful manner His Imperial Majesty, the other reasons of State, however adequate and convincing they might appear, would not of themselves have been sufficient, *taking the whole of the circumstances of the case*, to prompt the Emperor to the momentous decision to undertake a *second*, arduous voyage to a distant clime—a decision which has proved of the highest, unalloyed good both to the State and to the Peoples and Princes of the land. It has been said that it was His Majesty's intention to confer a signal mark of favour on India, and demonstrate to the world that she was not the least of his world-wide possessions. We conceive, however, that the theory is true only so far as it goes; and that there is still something behind it and something vastly greater. “From Bombay I set forth in 1905 encouraged by your affectionate welcome to traverse at any rate a part of this vast country and to strive to gain some knowledge of its people. Such knowledge as I acquired could not but deepen my sympathy with all races and creeds, and *when through the lamented death of my beloved father I was called to the Throne of my ancestors, one of my first and most earnest desires was to revisit my good subjects in India.*” Such were the beloved King-Emperor's words uttered by his Royal lips immediately on his landing at Bombay on December 2, 1911 in reply to a most loyal Address presented by the Municipal Corporation. The intention to revisit India formed no part of a premeditated Indian policy; but the idea came spontaneously to His Majesty's mind as “one of his *first* and most earnest desires.”¹ Throughout his sojourn in India in the winter of

1. We have to point out that this desire of His Majesty which was one of his “first and most earnest desires” immediately on his ascending the Throne, was subsequently embodied in a Royal Proclamation bearing date 22nd March, 1911, in which His Majesty was graciously pleased to make the following announcement,—“It is my intention, when the solemnity of my Coronation has been celebrated, to revisit my Indian dominions, and there to hold an assemblage in order to make known in Person to my subjects my succession to the Imperial Crown of India.” This Proclamation of March, 1911 was followed by an Imperial Message to India in July

1905-06 as Prince of Wales, our King-Emperor had displayed the same marked sympathy and affection for this ancient land, and when he left the shores of India at Karachi on 19th March, 1906, we find him in an official Message to his Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Minto, giving expression to the following truly royal sentiment :—"So long as we live we shall remember India with feelings of warm gratitude and sympathy. We are both genuinely sorry that our visit to India has now come to an end." And so also, in replying to the Municipal Address at Karachi on the eve of his departure from India, we find him repeating the same sentiments of affectionate goodwill towards India :—"We have seen enough to make India a living reality to us, and enough to make us wish that we could see more and to implant for ever in our hearts sympathy and interest in all that affects our fellow-subjects in India, of whatever creed or race. I can assure you and our other friends in all parts of this great and wonderful land that we leave India with feelings of gratitude and affection."

So also the one constant note of His Majesty's Messages to India was his deep, abiding sympathy, affection and goodwill towards her Princes and peoples. Almost in every Proclamation, Greeting, or Speech we note an affectionate outpouring of the heart towards the inhabitants of this land. In the latest of His Majesty's Proclamations issued on 12th December, 1911, our beloved Emperor "assures us of the deep affection with which he regards the Indian Empire;" and in his Speech also on the opening of the Coronation Durbar on the same date, the spirit of affection and sympathy for India breathes through every line. "By my presence with the Queen-Empress I am anxious to show our affection for the loyal Princes and faithful People of India." And further,—“In spite of time and distance the grateful recollections of our last visit to India have drawn us again to the land which we then learned to love and we started with bright hopes on our long journey to revisit the country in which we had already met with the kindness of a home.” In a right appreciation of the personality of our beloved Emperor, therefore, the most predominant feature which most strongly impresses itself on us is the pervading spirit of high-souled benignity and royal condescension. This high personal note of thankfulness,

last, immediately after the solemnity of the Coronation at the Westminster Abbey had been celebrated. His Majesty refers to this last Message in his gracious Durbar Speech delivered on December 12, 1911, in the following terms :—"In doing so I have fulfilled the wish expressed in my Message of last July, to announce to you in Person my Coronation, celebrated on the 22nd of June in Westminster Abbey, when by the Grace of God, the Crown of my forefathers was placed on my head with solemn form and ancient ceremony."

sympathy, affection and goodwill has characterised every single utterance that has fallen from the royal lips. "I have inherited from my father and from our late beloved Sovereign, your first Queen-Empress, a love for India and Indians. From my youth I have associated the name of India with qualities of kindness, loyalty, courtesy and bravery." "This idealisation of India and her peoples is an equipment which has fitted His Majesty to throw himself whole-souled into all that concerns the intimate wishes and aspirations of Indian peoples and Princes. Gifted with a nature whose chief quality is the possession of an abounding sympathy and love for all, His Majesty has felt drawn towards this land of ancient greatness and ancient power and has been unable to resist the fascination which India by virtue of her commanding historic personality exercises and has always exercised over all higher souls who have come in contact with her. The desire to be of signal service to India, India whose greatness and majesty has captivated his heart—the desire to know India more fully and deeply in order that her wishes and aspirations may be the better understood and more thoroughly grasped, the desire to make himself known in Person to his Indian Peoples for whom he entertains and cherishes a deep, fervent and abiding love, the desire to make himself better known to them so that he might touch the deepest chords in their hearts and set free in an unmeasured flow the perennial springs of Indian gratitude, loyalty and devotion to the Person and Throne of the Monarch,—such, in brief, represents the higher impelling forces which have almost involuntarily and so soon brought our beloved and illustrious Sovereign back again amongst his Indian People, under circumstances of considerable misgivings and in the face of difficulties with which the question was surrounded. We say, therefore, the impulse to revisit India was no part of a preconcerted plan inspired by State-policy, although there could be no reasonable doubt that State-policy has gained immensely by this epoch-making Imperial visit. And if this be so, if the Emperor's anxiety to serve and be served by India, to love and be loved by India, to know and appreciate India and be known and appreciated by her in turn—if such be the innermost secret which must in the first place and above everything else be sought to explain and unravel the whole of the conduct and attitude of the King-Emperor towards India and everything that attaches to her,—does it not follow that His Majesty,

2. This was said by our King-Emperor, then Prince of Wales, in the course of the Reply to the Address of Welcome presented by the Municipal Corporation of Bombay to His Royal Highness immediately on his landing at Bombay on 9th November, 1905.

notwithstanding the British traditions which surround him on every side, notwithstanding those natural barriers which must keep him apart from us of India, should nevertheless, not in a spirit of imperialistic aggressiveness, but under the promptings of a deep-felt, instinctive, natural craving, seek to identify himself with India, as she has been,—does it not follow that His Majesty should have fallen in whole-heartedly and unreservedly with the proposal that he should be the chosen instrument to bequeath once again to posterity the Indian traditions of Imperial rule which have through the ages uniformly regarded Delhi as the centre and the pivot of the Indian Empire? In our opinion, this desire on the part of our King-Emperor to be associated intimately with Delhi reveals the personality of our Monarch in a manner which nothing else does or could do. For, if a British Sovereign should aspire to claim affinity with India, he must be able to revive traditions of Imperial rule and Imperial loyalty, while seeking also to introduce all the better elements of modern political life. The desire to be enthroned in the hearts of the Peoples and Princes of the land such as is cherished by our Emperor would assuredly fail of its high purpose if opportunities be not created to assure for the Sovereign that exalted position in the eyes of Indian Princes and Peoples which has uniformly been accorded to the Sovereign by Indian traditions. Our illustrious King-Emperor knows and feels that if he must love India and Indians and receive back her love and homage in abundant measure, if he must instal himself in the hearts and affections of Indian princes and peoples, he must do so along the lines laid down for him by Indian traditions—along the lines followed by Monarchs whose lot was cast amidst *Indian* surroundings. This desire to *Indianise* himself, so to speak,—this desire to place himself along the current of Indian tradition and Indian sentiment is a feature of His Majesty's character which has its origin primarily in the suggestions and promptings of His Majesty's genuine and abiding love and affection for India and all that appertains to her.

II

"The traditions of Delhi," to quote the King-Emperor's own words spoken in reply to the Delhi Municipal Address, "invest it with a peculiar charm. The relic of dynasties of bygone ages that meet the eye on every side, the splendid palaces and temples which have resisted the destroying hand of time, all these witness to a great and illustrious past. In seeking a more central spot for the seat of the Government of India, these traditions and characteristics conduced in no small degree to the decision so recently announced that from this time forth, Delhi shall be the capital of our Indian Empire."

The whole-hearted appreciation by the King-Emperor, of Delhi as the Imperial capital of India, in succession to Calcutta, which in its origin and throughout its history is less of an imperial than of a commercial city—this whole-hearted appreciation of the Imperial capital finds frank utterance in the following words spoken by His Majesty on the occasion of the laying of the foundation-stone of the new capital on 15th December, 1911:—"It is a matter of *supreme satisfaction* to the Queen-Empress and myself that it has been possible for us, before leaving Delhi, to lay the first stones of the Imperial capital which will arise from where we now stand. This is the first step to give material effect to the important announcement which it was my pleasure to make on the magnificent, and to us deeply impressive occasion of my Coronation Durbar three days ago." This "supreme satisfaction" of the Emperor in being instrumental to restore Delhi to its position of ancient unsurpassed dignity as the capital of *Aryavarta*, of *Hindusthan*, as she has been styled by a later posterity, is easily understood. "To the Indian imagination, *Hindusthan* is still the centre of India and Delhi is still the metropolis," observes a modern Anglo-Indian historian. ⁴ Calcutta may be a city of Palaces - - and Flats, it is not a city of monuments, *pace* the monument on the Maidan. Lord Amptill, then Governor of Madras, presiding at a Meeting of the citizens of Madras held on 15th February, 1901 for the purpose of considering the form of the Madras Victoria Memorial thus spoke of Calcutta:—"Calcutta is not the capital of India in the same sense as London is the capital of the United Kingdom, Paris of France, and St. Petersburg of Russia; but so far as we can see, it will always be the seat of the Supreme Government of India." The transference of the seat of the Government of India from Calcutta to Delhi has, therefore, a significance which is not wholly political, and posterity will bless the Emperor, if Delhi, besides being the political capital of the country, is able in due course to re-assume its ancient dignity as a centre of true Indian inspiration. Calcutta as the capital of the Indian Empire has responded almost wholly to the spirit of commerce and trade, but has not rekindled the dormant genius of India. It is a modern city whose growth is synchronous with the advent of the English on a mission of trade, with their speedy rise as a company of merchants. Calcutta is indeed a modern city with no ancient traditions which could connect her with the perpetual inspiration of a glorious past,—with the memories of ancient Indian culture and civilisation,—a culture and civilisation,

which inspite of the decadence which has overtaken it, still assures for India a permanent place in the galaxy of Peoples and Nations. And even then as a commercial city, Calcutta is the handiwork not of Indians but of a community of merchants from abroad who by their energy and sagacity have raised her to a position of commercial dominance. Call Calcutta, if you like, the commercial capital of India, but must she aspire to the position of the capital of the Indian Empire properly so called, when the whole body of Indian traditions associated with the word would rise up in silent revolt against such an intrusion of unmerited claim? Why, if Calcutta, or, for the matter of that, any other Indian city, is to be a pan-Indian capital, she must bring forward credentials that from her—through the long-drawn centuries, has radiated, as from a centre, the light of Indian civilisation and Indian culture throughout the length and breadth of the land : A true metropolis of India must not be a mere appanage of a body of merchant Princes and opulent traders with their homes in a far-off land, but it must be one towards which all true Indian hearts, loyal to their Past and with hopes for the Future, may be turned as to a great bulwark, holding out possibilities of the continuity of Indian life and of Indian traditions. A true history of India, if one such could be created *in living terms*, must be re-connected with *Place*. As has been expressed with such infinite pathos by one of India's worshippers only recently gone : "Alas ! Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay are our present view-points ! Surely the heroes that sleep on ancient battle-fields, the forefathers that made for themselves the wide-walled cities, the scholars that left behind them precious thought and script, have laughed sometimes, when they have not wept, to see from high heaven the grotesque docility of their descendants !" The history of India consists, in truth, of the strata of some thousands of years, and to aspire to the proud position of the capital of this great and ancient country, rich with memories of thought and achievement of an historic past, could only legitimately be permitted to a city whose life-history has been the life-history of whole India during the centuries that have gone behind. Ayodhya, Hastinapur, Indraprastha, Delhi, Kanauj, Ujjain, Pataliputra, Conjeeveram and Amaravati have been our Beacon-lights ; and must Calcutta whose best characterisation would be that it typifies a great European politico-commercial centre,

5. Miss Margaret Elizabeth Noble, better known as the "Sister Nivedita," the most talented of the lady-disciples of the late Swami Vivekananda. She made Calcutta her home ; died at Darjeeling on 13th October, 1911. The quotation is from her article entitled *Aggressive Hinduism* appearing in the *Indian Review* of February, March and April, 1905 ; subsequently reprinted in pamphlet form, pp. 28-29.

with no ancient memories *sacred* to Indian hearts,—must Calcutta be for ever held up before our eyes as the ideal city towards which all Indian eyes should be strained, as towards some great personification of all that is great and glorious throughout the length and breadth of the land? And yet the metropolis of India, if it should be true to its name, must aspire to this high dignity and seek to fit herself for it, if, in the future, India must once again come back to her own as a country whose light shall travel beyond her frontiers, enlightening and vivifying all that come in contact with her. To find out such a place with whose future Indians, whose love for the Past has not been eclipsed or obscured by the glamour of the Present, should by preference seek to associate themselves, we must travel outside Calcutta and reach some central spot in this vast, venerable Empire within whose ancient walls and their environs are enshrined sacred Indian memories requiring to be revived and rekindled to make India dynamic once again along the paths of her ancient glory.

III

Calcutta, the "European city," as it has been designated by no mean authority, was hitherto the seat of the Government of India, but it was never, from the Indian point of view, a true metropolis. "It was from the banks of the Hooghly that the orders of the Governor-General in Council were issued that bore the names of Warren Hastings and Dalhousie," and it was expected that the same process would go on for ever. Such an expectation, indeed, would have been in accord with British policy hitherto pursued in this country, namely, that the political capital, the seat of the Supreme Government, must be located in a *European* and not in an *Indian* city. The prevailing doctrine of the past era was that the city which was to be the seat of the Government of India, must essentially be British in character, rich in memories of British achievements and filled with monuments of British enterprise, British energy and British pluck. That the political capital of the Empire could ever become associated with a city like Delhi which is wholly *Indian* from every point of view, Indian in character, Indian in its history, its memories and its achievements—such a theory has hitherto been foreign to the British conception of things. And yet we find that a wholly new "departure from the traditions of the British Government," involving "a complete dislocation of settled official habits"—such is the language used in the Secretary of State's Despatch,⁶

6. The reference is to Lord Crewe's Reply, dated India Office, November 1, 1911, to the Despatch of the Governor-General in Council, dated Simla, 25th August, 1911, containing proposals for the transference of the seat of the Government of India to Delhi and for the annulment of the Partition of Bengal.

—has been sanctioned and has met with the whole-hearted approval of His august Imperial Majesty who finds in the preference shown for Delhi—an Indian city *par excellence*—a matter of “supreme satisfaction.” Not long ago Lord Curzon at a great Public Meeting⁷ at Calcutta used language which shows how even a great imaginative statesman like him who looked on India as the pivot of the British Empire, failed to strike the right chord in Indian hearts by insisting a little too much on the paramount need of British associations for the metropolis of the Indian Empire. Thus,—“Calcutta, quite apart from being the most populous, is also the capital city of India. This generation did not make it so; but so it is, and it is now too late for the present or for succeeding generations to unmake it. It was from the banks of the Hooghly that the orders of the Governor-General in Council were issued that bore the names of Warren Hastings and Dalhousie; and the same process will, I suppose, go on in the future. Of course, there are other magnificent cities with magnificent associations. Bombay with its splendid appearance, Delhi with its Imperial memories, Agra with its majestic monuments, Madras with its historic renown. But the two sea-ports will probably have their own memorials; Agra is consecrated to a vanished dynasty and *regime*; while it is now too late—I wish it were not—to turn Delhi again into an Imperial Capital.”

Under the happy inspiration of His Imperial Majesty, George V., our august King-Emperor, a step has been taken to permanently dissociate the central seat of Government from its purely *European* surroundings, the surroundings created for it by the steady development of Calcutta as a great commercial centre. If by a Parliamentary Statute of 1858, the political Government of India passed completely from the hands of a great commercial corporation into those of the Crown and India felt that a Sovereign at last presided over her destinies, still the fact remained that the Government had not yet found its way to locate itself in the midst of purely *Indian* surroundings and associations, so as to be able to present a great object-lesson of sympathy and goodwill towards the native Indian populations, but that, on the contrary, gloried in its associations with a city which may be characterised not as an *Indian* city, properly so called, but as a great commercial *European* city, the product of European enterprise, energy and initiative. The removal of the seat of the Government of India from a great commercial centre to an imperial city whose very

7. Convened by the Sheriff of Calcutta on the 6th February, 1901 to express sorrow at the death of Her late Majesty, Queen-Empress Victoria and to decide on the form of the All-India Victoria Memorial. The particular reference is to Calcutta as “the inevitable site,” to quote Lord Curzon’s words, for the location of the Victoria Memorial Hall.

atmosphere is Indian and which has a past rich with the perfume of memories of India's glory and greatness—has thus been another step towards freeing the Government of our Sovereign from those commercial associations which have clung to it in the long course of its history and which take away so much from that pre-eminent dignity and prestige which in the eye of an Indian attaches and must attach to the Highest Authority in the realm. And it is clear from all that appears, that the benevolent Personality of our great Monarch has undoubtedly had much to do in forwarding the happy consummation of a noble idea which seeks to plant allegiance to the Emperor on a true, stable basis—the basis of a silent mutual attraction.

IV

The *Indian* view that the seat of the Supreme Government must be rich with Indian rather than with European historic associations, in order that the innermost soul of India might be unconsciously drawn towards it in silent unspoken sympathy and goodwill—the *Indian* view has until the inauguration of the present era under the inspiration and auspices of the King-Emperor, almost escaped consideration at the hands of our administrators and statesmen,* filled as they have been with a legitimate pride in the glories of purely British achievements. The utmost consideration that was paid to the idea is embodied in the half-timid sentiment of Lord Curzon that he would have "turned Delhi again into an Imperial capital" if he could, but "it was now too late." "It is now too late—I sometimes wish it were not—to turn Delhi into an Imperial capital." "For Calcutta had grown into a great politico-commercial European city and it was not wise to think of removing the seat of the Supreme Government from the existing *European* surroundings which are the symbols and emblems of British prestige and British power. When the question of the erection of the Victoria Memorial Hall was considered by Lord Curzon and his advisers, the utmost concession to *Indian* sentiment that was paid was that the great Building which was to commemorate the reign in India of one of India's greatest Sovereigns, and was intended to be the "Taj of the Twentieth Century" should be constructed of *Indian marble*. Said Sir Andrew Fraser, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in the course of a Speech, requesting the Emperor, then Prince of Wales, to lay the foundation-stone of the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta:—"Thanks to the liberality of the Railway Companies, it has become financially possible to decide to have the building constructed

8. *Vide* the previous quotation from Lord Curzon's Town Hall Speech, 6th February, 1901.

of Indian marble."⁹ But the design and construction of this great modern architectural monument which was to perpetuate the hallowed memory of our great and first Queen-Empress on *Indian soil* were to be in the *European* style. And the reason that was adduced in support of the proposal by the originator of the idea of a great *Indian National* Victoria Memorial,—Lord Curzon himself, when the question of adopting the *Indian* style of architecture in preference to the European was strongly urged on His Excellency by that great champion of Indian art-interests, Mr. E. B. Havell,—the answer that was forthcoming from Lord Curzon's lips on the occasion was that "Calcutta was a *European* City and an *Indian* style would be inappropriate for the building." Says Mr. Havell in a letter written from London in July, 1909, and published in the *Hindu* newspaper of Madras on the 28th of that month:—"I myself proposed to Lord Curzon that as a preliminary to the making of a design for that building, a survey should be made by a competent architect of living Indian architecture, *i.e.*, of buildings constructed in Indian styles by Indian master-builders who are still alive; that the design for the Memorial should be made in consultation with the best men that were found and carried out in co-operation with them. To my great disappointment, Lord Curzon did not see fit to adopt my proposal *on the ground that Calcutta was a European city and that an Indian style would be inappropriate for the building.*"¹⁰ Writing a year before, in his monumental work on *Indian Sculpture and Painting*,¹¹ Mr. Havell thus refers to the same aspect of the matter,—namely, the scant regard shewn to the Indian styles in the matter of the design and construction of the Indian National Victoria Memorial. "In the design and construction of a great modern monument, the Victoria Memorial at Calcutta, which, had it not been in an academic European style, might have justified the style bestowed upon it, "The Taj of the Twentieth Century," several lacs of rupees mostly subscribed by Indians will be paid to European architects and sculptors; but though there are many efficient master-builders, and excellent sculptors and ornamental designers still available, not one will be employed, except in a subordinate capacity to copy the paper patterns of the European designers, and to fix up sculptures made in London studios which must be totally irrelevant to Indian art."

9. *Vide* the *Englishman* newspaper of Calcutta, 5th January, 1906, containing the full text of Sir Andrew Fraser's Speech and also the Reply of His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales. The ceremony referred to took place on January 5, 1906.

10. This extract is from Mr. E. B. Havell's Letter No. XXII, being part of a series on *Indian Art and Industry*, appearing over his signature in the *Hindu* newspaper of Madras for the year 1909.

11. P. 244.

The Indian view that the metropolis of the *Indian* Empire could only be a city whose whole atmosphere is Indian and that the Government of India must take pleasure and glory and find "supreme satisfaction" in that circumstance—could never indeed have met with due consideration, since it was solemnly resolved that a great architectural monument which was to stand forth before the world for all time to come as the symbol of the affection and loyalty felt by the Indians towards a great Sovereign, their most beloved Empress—could only be built and designed not in an Indian but in a European style, because forsooth "Calcutta was a European city and an Indian style would be inappropriate for the building ; and the only *concession* to Indian sentiment that was made was that it should be constructed of Indian marble. The transference of the capital of India from a European to an Indian city means, therefore, a great and far-reaching change in the point of view of responsible opinion in relation to matters Indian ; and there could not be the least doubt that the freedom gained by this " abrupt departure from the *traditions* of the British Government," to quote the language of Lord Crew's famous Despatch, must be regarded as the happy result of a noble inspiration due ultimately to the benevolent Personality of His Majesty, Emperor George V.

V

The transference of the capital of the Indian Empire to an Indian city like Delhi—by freeing the Government from the trammels of the traditions of a European city like Calcutta in the matter of architectural enterprise undertaken by the Government—may also prove to be the means of forging another bond of union between the People and the Sovereign authority. On the memorable occasion of the laying of the foundation-stones of the New Capital, on 15th December 1911, His Imperial Majesty gave the following warning :—" It is my desire that the planning and designing of the public buildings to be erected will be considered with the greatest deliberation and care, so that the new creation may be in every way worthy of this ancient and beautiful city." If the express injunction of His Majesty that the planning and designing must be such that the new creations may not fall below the level of the existing *Indian* architectural monuments which still adorn the city, it is clear that an opportunity has been created by the transfer of the capital which, if properly availed of, would tighten the bonds of Empire. In a paper read before the Royal Society of Arts by Mr. Roger Smith to be found in the Society's Proceedings for 1873, the opinion was expressed that " the conqueror should carry into the conquered nation a new style of architecture." • That was the point of view adopted with some little qualification by Lord Curzon when he spoke

of the *Indian style* being unsuited to Calcutta, because the latter was a "European city." Mr. Roger Smith's arguments may be given in his own words:—"The second reason for employing the styles of the country,—viz., that natives can design and build in them, is answered by the fact that the *natives will not be employed*. The buildings which are built for European use and with European funds in India have been invariably built under European superintendence and *from European designs and always will be*; and although the artificers may be natives, that does not make the buildings native works." It is clear that the principles enunciated by Mr. Roger Smith at the Royal Society of Arts are not those which will readily find favour with our beloved King-Emperor who not only expresses his "supreme satisfaction" at the transference of the capital of India from a representative European to a representative Indian city, but would also earnestly desire that the "designing and planning," namely—the style of architecture to be adopted would be "in every way worthy of the ancient and beautiful city of Delhi." Even before His Majesty set his feet on Indian soil, we are referring to his first memorable visit as Prince of Wales in the winter of 1905-6,—we find him at the annual Banquet of the Royal Academy (May, 1905) dilating on his coming "opportunities of realising the wonderful works of art created by India in the past." "Naturally," observed our gracious Sovereign, "the Princess and I are looking forward with keen interest to our visit to India next winter. We shall have ample opportunities of realising the wonderful works of art created by India in the past. While in that country I hope to have the pleasure of laying the foundation-stone of the Queen Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta, and I shall be proud to be thus associated with the *first great architectural work which India under British Crown has inaugurated*." Knowing and realising that the great opportunity afforded by the inauguration of this great scheme of architectural work has been thrown away under the inspiration of men in power in India who would not or could not recognise in it an occasion for "utilising the creative genius of the vanquished for strengthening the bonds of the Empire," our great and good Sovereign makes it abundantly clear that the old policy must no longer be pursued, the policy, namely, that "the conqueror should carry into the conquered nation a new style of architecture" unsuited to the requirements of the country,—but that contrary-wise "the planning and designing" should be "worthy in every way of the ancient and beautiful city of Delhi." In his great Speech on the occasion of the laying of the foundation-stone of the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta on 5th January, 1906, by His Majesty, then Prince of Wales, we find him

referring in veiled language to the Indian ideal of the *Taj*, sacred to the memory of an Indian Empress,—in connexion with the proposed “Taj of the Twentieth century” intended to celebrate for all time to come the connexion of a great British Sovereign with India as the first Queen-Empress of a later age. Observed His Royal Highness: “The Taj which has fascinated and delighted us by its beauty and its story, can never be rivalled in its grace. But in generations to come this Memorial to a great Queen, whose sympathy conquered distance and space, may present to the historian reflections as hallowed as those which are inspired by the Taj Mahal.” We have said that the first great opportunity afforded by the inauguration on Indian soil of an All-India scheme of a great National Memorial has been almost thrown away under the masterful personality of a great Pro-consul who would not conciliate and bind Indian sentiment, but would thrust on the people even in the matter of their own national memorial, European ideals of architecture which are ill-suited to the requirements of the country. Even that great man whose services were requisitioned as architect from Europe, Sir William Emerson, and who had been required to adopt the European style in the designing and planning of the Victoria monument, had expressed at the same meeting of the Royal Society of Arts in which the doctrine was propounded that “the conqueror should carry into the conquered nation a new style of architecture,”—his deliberate conviction that “the course pursued by the Mahomedans was infinitely preferable. They adapted their architecture to that of the conquered country. Indeed it is impossible for the architecture of the West to be suitable for the natives of the East and the Mahomedan buildings were found to work well.” Thus, both from the point of view of architectural style and of a nobler imperialism, the memorable warning uttered by our great and good Emperor that the planning and designing of the new creations at Delhi must in every way be worthy of the ancient and beautiful city has a meaning which requires to be “considered with the greatest deliberation and care.” “We often compare,” observes Mr. Havell in his great work on *Indian Sculpture and Painting*,¹² “the British Empire with that of Rome. The Romans, like ourselves, were an inartistic people, but when they conquered Greece they utilised the creative genius of the vanquished for strengthening the bonds of Empire, and through it, provided a valuable guarantee for law and order in the place of a dangerous element of unrest and discontent. Akbar, the great Mogul, pursued the same policy with wonderful success.” And again, in his most recent work, *The Ideals of Indian Art*¹³, the same authority observes:—“Saracenic art flourished in

India just so long as the Mogul Emperors were wise enough to observe perfect impartiality between Musalman and Hindu. When Aurangzib expelled all the Hindu artists and craftsmen whom his father and grandfather had attracted to the service of the State, the Art of the Moguls in India was struck with a blight from which it never recovered".

The "benignant spirit of Imperial rule," to quote His Majesty's most gracious words uttered in a Message to the Princes and Peoples of India immediately on his accession to the Throne, "by which in all my time to come I will faithfully abide,"—this noble spirit of Imperial rule which has been instrumental in bringing about so soon and so surprisingly indeed an "abrupt departure from the traditions of the British Government" in this country,—we are quoting the language of the Secretary of State in relation to the transference of the seat of the Supreme Government to Delhi,—this spirit of higher Imperialism inaugurated by the deep and abiding love and affection of His Majesty towards India demands that once more the traditions of Imperial Rule should have sway and that what the conquering Romans did in relation to Greece, what the great Mogul Akbar did with regard to his Hindu subjects in the matter of architectural policy—should be once more adopted, and adopted in order that the same signal results might follow, namely, the cementing of the ties of the Empire through the "utilisation of the creative genius of the vanquished." His Imperial Majesty himself, then Prince of Wales, while visiting Mysore towards the end of January, 1906, referred in feeling terms to the arts and crafts of the country and the craftsmen themselves, who, broadly speaking, represent Indian "creative genius": "I am very glad to be associated with this industrial institution and to have an opportunity of showing my sympathy with the artisans of Mysore and of India. The Princess of Wales and myself have greatly admired their work at various places on our journey, and I am heartily in favour of any movement that may either tend to improve the handicrafts of India or raise the social position of the artisan. We have seen much of the arts in India, but have seen very little of the artisans; and I am specially delighted to take part in any ceremony which may lead towards the amelioration of one of the most deserving and most important classes of the Indian people." The sentiments embodied in the above Speech of His Majesty at Mysore during his first visit to this country have been further emphasised, as we have seen, by the anxiety shown by the Sovereign in connexion with "the planning and designing" of the new capital in order that the new creations may be "worthy in every way of the ancient and beautiful city" of Delhi. "It is

only necessary," says Mr. Havell, "to compare the present position of Indian artists with that of their forefathers to see the evil our whole administrative system works upon Art in India. In the time of Akbar, Jehangir and Shah Jahan, the best artists became grandees of the Court and sometimes intimate friends of the Emperor himself. In Rajputana, also, under Hindu rule, painters and architects held dignified positions at Court; and, besides extremely liberal pecuniary rewards, they were often given special honours and grants of land. In the Imperial Library at Calcutta there is preserved a Persian manuscript giving the names of the designers and chief constructors of the Taj Mahal at Agra and the salaries they received. The three principal designers were each paid a thousand rupees a month; another received eight hundred; six others four hundred, and nine others, from two hundred to four hundred a month. These salaries would represent a considerably larger sum in present Indian currency. But the descendants of these men in India, who practise their profession now with little less ability, though their opportunities for exercising it are miserably few, are considered well paid at thirty, forty, or sixty rupees a month: and what Indian artist under our administration has ever received any sort of honour or reward except a paltry and miserably designed medal at an exhibition, for which he is sometimes called upon to pay?"¹⁴

It is in this manner, as pointed by Mr. Havell, again, that "through a blind adherence to European precedent, we prevent Indian artists from having any share in the building up of the Empire unless they accept the humiliating conditions of abandoning all the traditions of their forefathers and give Indians an education which leaves them no other intellectual distraction than that of politics."¹⁵ The time has gone by when the claims of the principles of Indian architecture could be contemptuously ignored or rejected by a waive of the hand. The most authoritative expressions of opinion are in our favour. As Mr. James Fergusson, that well-known and recognised authority on the question of Indian Architecture has, in his standard work on the *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (edition of 1899), laid down "the imitation of a foreign style as at Lucknow and elsewhere has been fatal" (p. 697). To quote his own words again,—“no one who has personally visited the objects of interest with which India abounds can fail to be struck with the extraordinary elegance of detail and propriety of design which pervades all the architectural achievements of the Hindus; and this not only in buildings erected in former days,

14. Mr. Havell's *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 243-4.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 264-5.

but in those now in course of construction in those parts of the country to which the bad taste of their European rulers has not yet penetrated. (p. 488)..... If one could only inspire the natives with a feeling of pride in their own style, there seems little doubt that even now they could rival the works of their forefathers (p. 475)..... Those who have an opportunity of seeing what perfect buildings the ignorant, uneducated natives of India are now producing, will easily understand how success may be achieved, while those who observe what failures the best educated and most talented architects in Europe are constantly perpetrating, may, by a study of Indian models, easily see why this must inevitably be the result. The Indian builders *think* only of what they are doing, and how they can best produce the effect they desire. In the European system it is considered more essential that a building, especially in its details, should be a correct *copy* of something else, than good in itself or appropriate to its purpose ; hence the difference in the result " (p. 5).

On an occasion like the present of the inauguration of a new era of "peace, contentment and prosperity" in India under the benevolent ægis of our King-Emperor, it is meet that Indians and Europeans should work hand in hand in order that the ideal may be realised of a noble and benignant imperialism which would recognise to the full the Indian point of view in all matters of imperial concern ; for, it is clear that in this way alone could we be assured that the greatness and the goodness, the nobleness and the sublimity of the Personality of our King-Emperor would be permanently and indelibly engraved on the hearts and affections of a loyal and contented people. Therefore, while the great political boons that have been announced will in the fullness of time leave a permanent mark on the hearts of *educated* India, it is no less clear that the opportunity afforded by the creation of a new capital for India should in pursuance of His Majesty's declared intentions be utilised to the full by the Executive in this country, in order that the entire body of people who, broadly speaking, represent "the creative genius" of the country might feel that they no longer represented an outcaste population in the eye of our rulers, but that under Imperial auspices the era of "the amelioration of one of the most deserving and most important classes of the Indian people," to quote His Majesty's own words—has once again dawned by the resumption in India of the traditions of Imperial Rule.

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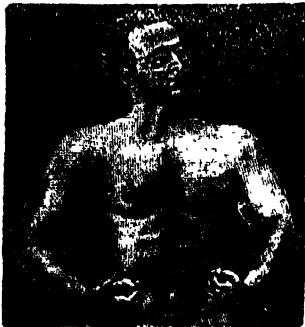
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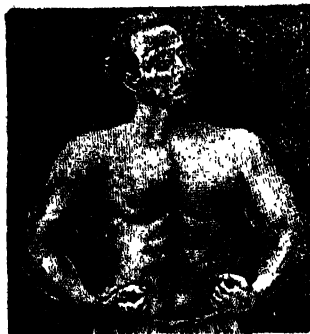
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PART I: INDIANA

MARITIME ACTIVITY AND ENTERPRISE IN ANCIENT INDIA INTERCOURSE AND TRADE BY SEA WITH CHINA—IX

(Continued from pp 129 132 of September, 1911 number of this Journal)

THE EMBASSY-SYSTEM CONTINUED ACCOUNTS OF INDIAN MARITIME TRADE WITH CHINA: 1100 1700 A.D.

I. Introductory State of the Commercial Relations between India and China: 1100 1300 A.D

In some previous number * of this Journal we gave on the basis of evidence derived from Chinese dynastic histories and other reliable sources, an account of the earlier commercial expeditions sent out from India to China during twelve centuries—namely the period beginning with the first century B.C. and ending with the close of the eleventh century A.D. We propose in the present article to bring down the narrative to the end of the sixteenth century A.D. which saw the commencement of a period of transition in the history of India. For, it was at this critical period that the Europeans made their way on trading missions into Indian waters and succeeded in gradually establishing themselves as a growing factor and even wresting away from the hands of Asiatic traders—Indians, Arabs, and Chinese—almost the entire trade of the East.

Of the commercial dealings between India and China during the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century we have no contemporary record in the Chinese annals. But the great Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, who was in China at the end of the thirteenth century and who visited many of the ports of Southern India, speaks enthusiastically

* Viz., the February, May, August and September, 1911 numbers of this

of the flourishing condition of the trade between the two countries. There is clear evidence that the profitable China trade which, as we have shown in a previous number (*Dawn*, September, 1911, pp. 129-132), the *Cholas* of Southern India carried on with China at the end of the eleventh century, continued to be carried on during the following centuries, although it is, no doubt, reasonable to assume that owing to internal troubles which marked this period both of Chinese and of Indian history, the Indo-Chinese trade suffered considerable interruptions. In India, this was the period of the Muhammadan invasions and of consequent bitter struggle between Hindu and Muhammadan; while in China it was one of political revolution marked by the invasion of the foreign Tartars from the steppes of Mongolia and their supplanting the indigenous dynasty of the Sung¹. It is clear, however, that as soon as the Muhammadans were well established in India and the Mongols were firmly seated on the Dragon Throne, commerce resumed its old course—and as the accounts of Marco Polo show—with scarcely abated vigour. *Kublai Khan*, the great Mongol Emperor, made great and continued efforts to establish trade-relations between China and other countries of Asia, but as he insisted on carrying on trade in accordance with the Chinese method of what we have already described in previous numbers as “embassies,” † he was not very successful except in India and in some Indian States in the Malay Archipelago, where the people who had got accustomed to the Chinese method since the first century B.C., readily welcomed his “envoys” and responded to his proposals. Sir Henry Yule, the great English geographer, writes in his *Cathay and the Way Thither* (vol. I, pp. lxxvi—lxxvii): “We hear from Marco Polo of some part of the intercourse which *Kublai Khan* endeavoured to establish with western countries of Asia, his endeavours are also specially mentioned in the Chinese annals. Unfortunately, he and his officers seem to have entertained the Chinese notion that all intercourse with his empire should take the form of homage, and his attempts that way in Java and Japan had no very satisfactory result. But he is said to have been more fortunate in 1286 with the kingdoms of Mapeul, Sumuntala, Sumenna, Sengkill, Malantan, Lailai, Navang and Tinghoeul. Of these the first four are almost certainly Indian. The rest of the names probably belong to the Archipelago.”

1. Genghiz Khan, the great Mongol leader, invaded China about the beginning of the 13th century (1206 A. D.) and ever since portions of China were being added on to his empire until 1259, when *Kublai Khan* ascended the throne, the whole of the Chinese Empire passed under his sway. Vide *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition, vol. VI. p. 197.

† Vide *Dawn*, February and May, 1911 numbers.

II. Commercial Expeditions to China from Southern India in the Thirteenth Century A.D.

Dr Maull, the celebrated French missionary and historian, mentions in his great work, *Histoire General de la China* (General History of China Vol. IX. p. 415), that in 1282, envoys from the Indian Kingdom of *Kiulan* (modern Quilon in Travancore) arrived at the Chinese port of *Chwan-chu* (or *Zaiton*), bringing presents of various rare articles, including a black ape as big as a man, and that the Chinese Emperor had three times sent thither an officer called *Yang Ting-pi*.² M. Pauthier, the great French scholar from whom we have largely quoted in the course of this series of articles, has extracted from the Chinese annals of this period, some rather curious details of these commercial expeditions sent out from this part of India in the form of "embassies." In the Chinese accounts the king of the country is styled *Pinati* which is evidently a corruption of *Penadan* which was borne by the kings of Quilon, and is also still applied to the Rajas of Travancore who superseded them.³

M. Pauthier also mentions several "embassies" which passed in 1280 and the following years from the South Indian kingdom of *Ma-pa-rh* or *Maabar* to the Chinese Court. *Maabar* is also mentioned in the Chinese annals as one of those foreign States which sent the so-called "tribute" to the Emperor, Kublai Khan, in 1286. Among the peculiarities of the Kingdom of *Maabar*, the Chinese annals mention five brothers who were joint rulers of the country and also they name an envoy *Chamalating* (or Jamaluddin) who had been sent from *Maabar* to the Mongol Court.⁴ This Kingdom of *Maabar* is not to be confounded with modern *Malabar*, for the former was the name given by the Muhammadans at this time to a tract extending from Cape morin to Nellore and corresponding roughly to what is known as the *Coromandel* coast at the present day.

The narratives furnished by the Arab and Persian Muhammadan historians of this period, who wrote very comprehensive accounts of Muhammadan enterprises in all parts of the world, contain descriptions of many Indian provinces, and they fully corroborate the accounts given in the Chinese annals of the prosperity of the South-Indian ports and of the flourishing sea-borne trade. About the maritime trade of *Ma'bar*, we take the following account from the celebrated Persian history commonly known as *Tarikh-i-Wassaf* written about 1300 A.D.

2. Vide *The Book of Sir Marco Polo* translated by Colonel Sir Henry Yule, R. E., C. B., K. C. S. I.; third edn., edited by Henri Cordier, vol. II. p. 378.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 378; and *Relations Politiques* etc., by M. Pauthier, p. 603 et seq.

4. Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. II. p. 337.

by Abdulla N. Wassaf of Shiraz. He says :—" Ma'bar extends in length from Kaulam (Quilon) to Nilawar (Nellore), nearly 300 parasangs along the sea-coast ; and in the language of that country the King is called *Devar*, which signifies 'the Lord of Empire.' The curiosities of Chin and Machin, and the beautiful products of Hind and Sind, laden on large ships which they call *Junks*, sailing like mountains with the wings of the winds on the surface of the water are always arriving there. The wealth of the isles of the Persian Gulf in particular, and in part the beauty and adornment of other countries, from Irak and Khurassan as far as Rum (Constantinople) and Europe are derived from Ma'bar, which is so situated as to be the key of Hind." ⁵

The great Muhammadan historian, *Rashiduddin* of Persia, in his monumental work, the *Jamiut-Tawarikh*, completed in 1310 A.D., also gives an account of the abounding trade and prosperity of the Kingdom of Ma'bar in almost the same words as Wassaf. He writes,— " Ma'bar from Kulam to the country of Nilawar, extends 300 parasangs along the shore. Its length is the same. It possesses many cities and villages. The King is called *Devar* which means in the Ma'bar language the 'lord of wealth.' Large ships, called in the language of China, *Junks*, bring various sorts of choice merchandise and clothes from Chin and Machin, and the countries of Hind and Sind. The merchants export from Ma'bar silken stuffs, aromatic roots ; large pearls are brought up from the sea. The productions of this country are carried to Irak, Khurassan, Syria, Rum, and Europe. There are two courses, or roads, from this place : one leads by sea to Chin and Machin, passing by the island of Silan (Ceylon)." ⁶

The facts of the joint government of the country by five or more correctly four brothers and the sending of a Muhammadan envoy from this Hindu Kingdom are explained by the following extract from the *Tarikh-i-Wassaf* of Abdulla N. Wassaf. Speaking about *Ma'bar* he writes :—" A few years since the Devar was Sundar Pandi, who had three brothers, each of whom established himself in independence in some different country. The eminent prince, the Marzban of Hind, Takiuddin Abdur Rahman, whose virtues and accomplishments have for a long time been the theme of praise and admiration among the chief inhabitants of that beautiful country, was the Devar's deputy, minister and adviser and was a man of sound judgment. * * He gave orders that whatever commodities and goods were imported from the remotest parts of China and Hind into Ma'bar, his agents and factors

5. *Vide* translation in Elliott's *History of India*, vol. III. p. 32. The full title of Wassaf's book is *Tazjiyatul Amsar wa Tajriyatul Asar* or 'A Ramble through the Regions and the Passing of Ages.'

6. *Vide* Translation in Elliott's *History of India*, vol. I. p. 69.

should be allowed his first selection, until which no one was allowed to purchase. When he had selected his goods he despatched them on his own ships, or delivered them to merchants and ship-owners to the island of Kais. There also it was not permitted to any merchant to contract a bargain until the factors of Malikul Islam had selected what they required, and after that the merchants were allowed to buy whatever was suited to the wants of Ma'bar. The remnants were exported on ships and beasts of burden to the isles of the sea, and the countries of the east and west, and with the prices obtained by their sale such goods were purchased as were suitable for the home market; and the trade was so managed that the produce of the remotest China was consumed in the farthest west. No one has seen the like of it in the world."

III. Commercial Expeditions to China from Southern India in the Fifteenth Century, A.D.

Some passing references to a few embassies which were despatched at this period from Southern India to China are found in certain of the Chinese annals dealing with accounts of similar expeditions from the islands of the Malay Archipelago. Thus, the history of the Ming dynasty relates:— "In the winter of the year 1416 Malacca, Calicut and seventeen other countries, sent envoys to court to carry tribute; when they left, *Cheng Ho* was ordered to go with them in order to bring presents to their princes and chiefs." This *Cheng Ho* was a high officer at the Chinese court at the time of the Ming Emperors of China and was sent on several expeditions to India and other countries with a view to extending commercial relations between those countries and China. On one or other of these occasions he visited the Indian Kingdoms Bengal, Calicut, Cochin, Soli (*i.e.* the Chola country), Comari Comorin), Coilan, Cail, Ceylon, etc.

Another mention of "embassies" from Calicut, Cape Comorin, Cail etc., is found in the same history of the Ming dynasty in connection with the history of Java. It says:—"In the intercalary sixth month of the year 1436 A.D., the envoys of Calicut, Northern Sumatra, Cochin, Arabia, Cail, Aden, Hormuz, Dsaffar, Comari and Camboja, were sent back, together with the envoys of Java, and the Emperor gave a letter to the King of this country of the following contents: 'You, Oh King! have never been remiss in performing the duty of

7. *Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 32-34.

8. Translated by W. P. Groenvelt in his *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca. Vide Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China*, 2nd series, vol. I. p. 169.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

sending tribute in the time of my ancestors, and now that I have come to the Throne you have again sent envoys to Court ; I am fully convinced of your sincerity. Now, in the reign of my predecessor (1426-1435), Calicut and ten other countries have come to bring tribute, and as your envoys are going home I have ordered those other envoys to go with them. I expect you will treat them kindly and send them back to their respective countries, in order to carry out my benevolent intentions towards those who live far away."

IV. Commercial Expeditions to China from Muhammadan States in Northern India: 1300-1700 A.D.

(A)

The embassies or commercial expeditions which we have referred to in the previous section were sent out from the Hindu kingdoms in Southern India which had not yet passed under the Muhammadan sway. We shall now show that the Muhammadan kingdoms of Northern India, notably Bengal, were not slow to take advantage of this lucrative method of trade with China. In fact, the Muhammadans in their country of origin, Arabia, had long been familiar with this Chinese method of international trade known as the system of "embassies." For, in the ninth century A.D., two Arab travellers who visited China found their compatriots occupying a special quarter at one of the Chinese ports,¹⁰ and thence forward they had been gradually increasing their trade with China, until at the period we are referring to they had almost entirely ousted the Hindu merchants of India from their long-continued supremacy in the eastern seas. The proselytising zeal of the Mussulmans had converted to their faith most of the Indian colonies and places of call for Indian vessels on the route between India and China. So that the fear of contamination with the Muhammadans and the difficulty of obtaining on the route provisions and supplies sanctioned by Hindu customs made sea-voyages more and more unpopular with the Hindus. The result was that, as we have seen above, even at the ports in the Hindu Kingdoms of India (*cf.* the case of the Hindu kingdom of Ma'bar), it was the Muhammadans who were generally controlling the oversea trade. Ibn Batuta, the Arab traveller who visited Southern India about 1342 A.D., thus speaks of Calicut, which was at the time under a Hindu King and was a famous port :—"We next came to Kālikut, one of the great ports of the District of Malabar, and in which merchants from all parts are found. The greatest part of the Muhammadan merchants of this place are so

10. Vide *Relation des Voyages faites par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde etc.* y J. T. Reinaud.

wealthy that one of them can purchase the whole freightage of such vessels as put in here, and fit out others like them."¹¹

(B)

Of the Indian Muhammadan embassies to China of which we possess accounts, the first is the ill-fated expedition of which, the last-mentioned author, Ibn Batuta himself, was in charge, and which, though rather of a political nature was not, we suspect, entirely free from commercial associations. In 1341-42, the Mongol Emperor, Shunti, had sent an "embassy" to the court of Emperor Muhammad Tughlak at Delhi, requesting that he should be permitted to rebuild a Buddhist temple in the country about the mountain of Kora, that is below the Himalayas. A return "embassy" with very rich and abundant presents was sent in 1342 A.D. by Muhammad Tughlak in charge of Ibn Batuta, who was at the time employed as an officer at his court. The "embassy" travelled by land to the neighbourhood of Goa where it took ship and voyaging along the coast of Malabar reached Calicut. There a number of Chinese vessels were appointed to carry them to China. These vessels, however, with all the rich presents and the officers of the Emperor in them struck on the shore in a storm and went down. Batuta, however, was on shore at the time and was thus saved. But his personal property though put into a separate vessel which survived the tempest, was lost to him, the vessel having left for China without him. Batuta sojourned in the neighbourhood and in one of the Maldive Islands for some time, and thence passed by sea to Bengal. From the Bengal port of Sonargaon he set out in a large merchant vessel bound for Java and finally went thence to China.¹²

(C)

We now come to the commercial expeditions which went out from Bengal to China regularly from the beginning of the fifteenth century during the reigns of Ghiyasuddin, Saifuddin and other Mahammadan rulers of Bengal. In the course of our first article on "Ship-Building and Maritime Activity in Bengal" appearing in the January, 1911 issue of this journal, we have given a detailed account of some "embassies" sent from Bengal during the earlier period of Mahomedan occupation in India and we shall not repeat what we have already mentioned. We shall here only refer to one embassy not described there. The German savant, C. Lassen, says in his *Indische Alterthumskunde* (Indian Archæology), vol. IV. p. 891:—"The Emperor *Jong-lo* or

11. Vide *The Travels of Ibn Batutta* translated by S. Lees, p. 172.

12. *Ibid*, pp. 150-200. Vide also *Voyages d' Ibn Batoutah* edited with a French translation by Defremery and Sanguinetti, vol. IV. pp. 1-300.

King-tsu of this Ming dynasty, who sat on the throne from 1463 to 1484, received in the year 1469 embassies from *Peng-ko-lie* or Bengal and from other foreign countries."¹³

From the middle of the fifteenth century to the end of the seventeenth, these embassies to China apparently continued to be sent out so late as 1656. Thus,—“the Dutch envoy Nieuhoff was presented at Peking along with an ambassador from the great Mogul, at that time, Jahangir” (*Cathay and the Way Thither* by Sir Henry Yule, p. lxxv). We have not, however, succeeded in laying our hands on any further documentary evidence. But the above appears to be sufficient for our purposes; for it goes not a little way to shew that the whole period of the two centuries ending with the seventeenth was presumably a period of continued intercourse between India and China on the basis of the politico-commercial system of “Embassies” which was the only system recognised by the Chinese Court.

HARAN CHANDRA CHAKLADAR, M. A.

WANTED A NEW POLICY : THE GOVERNMENT AND INDIAN CRAFTSMEN

JAN 1 1912

Our beloved King-Emperor, then Prince of Wales, while visiting Mysore about the close of January, 1906 expressed himself in feeling terms with regard to the present inferior position occupied by Indian craftsmen.—“I am very glad to be associated with this industrial institution and to have an opportunity of showing my sympathy with the artisans of Mysore and of India. The Princess of Wales and myself have greatly admired their work at various places on our journey, and I am heartily in favour of any movement that may tend to improve the handicrafts of India or raise the social position of the artisan. We have seen much of the arts in India, but have seen very little of the artisans; and I am specially delighted to take part in any ceremony which may lead towards the amelioration of one of the most deserving and most important classes of the Indian people.”¹ We referred to this declaration of His Majesty's views in our article on “The Personality of our King-Emperor,” appearing in the January, 1912 number of this Journal and we drew also the

¹³. Translated by the writer of the article from the original German.

1. This Speech was delivered on 30th January, 1906 by His Majesty, then Prince of Wales, in reply to an Address read out by the then Dewan of Mysore, the late Sir Krishna Murti, on the occasion of the laying of the foundation-stone of the *Chamarajendra Technical Institute*, Mysore. Vide the issue of the *Englishman* for January 31, 1906, and also the *Indian Daily News* of the same date.

reader's attention to the further and most recent and no less important declaration of His Imperial Majesty on the occasion of the laying of the foundation-stone of the new Capital at Delhi (15th December, 1911), which ran in these words :—"It is my desire that the planning and designing of the public buildings to be erected" (at Delhi) "will be considered with the greatest deliberation and care, so that the new creation may be in every way worthy of this ancient city."

We pointed out that the new architectural works that are to be raised at Delhi will give an opportunity to the Government to carry out one of the earnest wishes of the King-Emperor,—namely, to "show sympathy with the artisans of India"—we are quoting His Imperial Majesty's own words—if instead of the European style of designing, the Indian style be adopted at Delhi in connexion with the new buildings. We are exceedingly glad that this point has been clearly brought out in two Letters which have since appeared in the columns of two leading London dailies. One of these letters appears in the *Daily Chronicle* over the signature of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, M. P., the leader of the Independent Labour Party in the House of Commons, who visited India about two years back and who having been officially elected to preside at the last Sessions of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in December, 1911 was only prevented from coming over by a great bereavement. In his letter to the London *Daily Chronicle*, Mr. Macdonald refers to the present architectural policy of the Government of India which is wholly European in character and expresses his anxiety that the new creations at Delhi may not fall below the level of the indigenous architectural works which still adorn the ancient and beautiful city of Delhi. Says Mr. Macdonald—
 "As a political move, the removal of the capital to Delhi may be good or it may be bad, but it is to be hoped that the very greatest efforts will be made to prevent the destruction of the architectural beauty and the historical feeling of the place by those ugly erections in which the British Government in India appear to delight to do its work.... Hastily in their barbarism are our deeds in desecrating Delhi, but recently we have tried to atone for them. Our white-washed barrack-rooms are still cheek-by-jowl with some of the finest pieces of Shah Jahan architecture, but whoever stands on the walls of the fort and is not moved by the grouping of minaret and dome around him, by thoughts of what has taken place at his feet, by the beauty of the marble and sandstone work blazing in the sun close by him, is a poor creature. But is the English Government to guard the spirit of the city or is it to vulgarise it? We shall have to build great mansions for our clerks and our staffs. Are we to take Calcutta"

with us inspite of our moving from the Hooghly to the Jumna? Heaven forbid! The precious stones have been picked from the walls of the palaces, and Lord Curzon tried to restore them. That was bad enough. They jar upon you as you stroll past them now. And yet you understand why those knotted Persian letters carved in the marble of the Hall of Private Audience tell you :—‘If a paradise be on the face of the earth, it is this, it is this, it is this.’ It will be very easy for the Government to dispel the illusion of this paradise by some of its Simla architecture.”

In his well-known, recent work, “The Awakening of India” (1910), the result of his Indian tour, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald thus exposes the Public Works Department architectural policy which he would be glad the Government should revise in connection with the proposed erections at Delhi : “The Government has no Oriental imagination. It is dull and utilitarian, economical in its idealism, and extravagant only on its monetary side. When at last Lord Curzon began to talk of art it was as a vulgar Philistine. He has been described as a builder of Rhine castles at Simla and a patcher-up of ancient Mogul palaces. He chose restoration instead of preservation of ancient buildings, and, consequently, whoever visits places like Delhi, Agra, Fatehpur-Sikri, and similar shrines, has his sensibilities jarred by patches of new masonry, painting and inlaying in imitation of the old that has gone. By good luck, some of his work is worthy of unqualified praise. What he has done, for instance, to the Shah Jahan marble summer-houses on the bund of the lake at Ajmere must be praised without stint, but there he could do little meddling. He simply cleared away English debris in the shape of buildings....But once again it can be claimed that a few Englishmen redeemed our reputation. Men like James Fergusson, General Cunningham, Sir George Birdwood, and finally Mr. Havell must always be thought of when Indian art is mentioned. Moreover, when driven into a corner, we may defend ourselves by this thought, that the whitewash of British Philistinism laid over the palaces of Delhi was not so destructive to Indian art as the fanaticism of Aurungzebe.” (*Ibid.*, pp. 216-218)

II

(A)

Mr. E. B. Havell, whose labours in the cause of a better appreciation and better recognition of Indian Art both at the hands of the people and the Government are beyond all praise has also come out with a timely letter of warning in the columns of the *London Times*. In that letter Mr. Havell puts the case for a revision of the Government

architectural policy in a vivid light and we make no apology for reprinting the letter almost in full. It will be noted that in our article on the *Personality of our King-Emperor*,* we quoted this authority in support of our observations on the need for adopting the Indian style of architecture in connexion with the proposed works at Delhi, and made clear our grounds for holding that this course if pursued would be wholly in consonance with the intentions and injunctions of our beloved King-Emperor. Mr. Havell writes to the *Times* as follows :—

"Sir,—The transfer of the seat of the Government of India from Calcutta to Delhi offers a magnificent opportunity for British rulers of revising their artistic policy and of removing an incubus which has pressed sorely upon Indian art ever since Great Britain assumed direct responsibility for the Government of India. Judging from my long official experience and from the character of some recent public utterances by Anglo-Indian departmental experts, the opportunity, like so many others, will be allowed to pass over unless it is pressed upon the attention of the Government of India in time, and the Public Works Department will for an indefinite period maintain its attitude of Philistine indifference to the interests of art.

When the headquarters of the Public Works Secretariat are removed to Delhi it will begin, architecturally speaking, with a clean slate. It will leave the commercial atmosphere of Calcutta, with its shoddy imitations of European architecture—its bastard Gothic and emasculated Italian Renaissance—and find itself in the heart of Hindustan, where the artistic traditions of Indian building are still, for all practical architectural purposes, as much alive as they were when Akbar, by calling into the service of the State the skill of Hindu temple-builders, gave Saracenic architecture in India a wonderful new impulse. It is not only that at Delhi, Agra, Fatehpur-Sikri, and elsewhere the Public Works architects will be able to study the finest models of Mogul design, but that the Department will have at hand, all over the United Provinces, Central India, Rajputana, and the Punjab, numbers of Indian master-builders, passing rich on forty rupees a month, who, Fergusson declared, could teach more of the true art of building than could be learnt from all the text-books of Europe.† Illiterate, no doubt, they are; but so was Akbar. The Public Works Department, by its boycott of them and of their art, has prevented them from learning much of modern European constructional methods; but, on the other hand, the Departmental buildings are no more free from constructional faults than they are satisfactory from the purely æsthetic standpoint. They might be improved as much in

* *Vide* January, 1912 number of this Journal.

† *Vide* p. 475 of Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (1899 edition) where the author writes as follows :—"One was in course of construction when I was there in 1839, and from its architect I learned more of the secrets of art as practised in the Middle Ages than I have learned from all the books I have since read"—*Editor*.

construction and technique as in design by a more general employment of the simple but sound building-traditions of India. What modern European architect will deny that one of the first principles of sound architectural practice is to use to the fullest extent any local traditions of construction as well as design? The Indian Public Works officers, with a few bright exceptions, have always acted on an exactly opposite principle—to ignore entirely all local Indian traditions and to use only foreign architectural ideas, imported materials, and as far as possible imported workmen.

Lord Curzon, who did so much for Indian art through the Archæological Department, attempted to make a new departure in Indian official architecture by appointing professional European architects in place of the self-taught architects of the regular Public Works service. The result, unfortunately, has only been to discourage the few officers of the old service who have done excellent work for Indian art, and to give a fictitious sort of justification for the departmental theory that the latter is dead, or useless for modern practical purposes. It is only useless so far as the Public Works Department, which has a practical monopoly of architecture in India, will not or cannot make use of it.

I venture to think that, if Lord Curzon could have foreseen recent events, he would have accepted the advice I tendered him with regard to the ill-fated Victoria Memorial in Calcutta and given a great impetus to the revival of Indian art by having an Indian design prepared by the professional European architect in collaboration with the best Indian master-builders. The reason which Lord Curzon gave for following a different course—that Calcutta was a European city † and therefore an Indian style would be unsuitable—will not apply to the many important public buildings which will be required at Delhi by the transfer of the seat of the Imperial Government. The Government of India has now a wonderful opportunity for showing its practical sympathy with Indian art, and for setting a good example to the Indian Princes and aristocracy in regard to architecture."

(B)

In connexion with the concluding portion of Mr. Havell's appeal to the Government of India for a reconsideration of their present architectural policy which is unmistakably non-Indian, in favour of a more national Indian policy, we desire to reproduce portions of an article on *Indian Administration and Arts and Crafts in India* contributed by the same authority in the *Hindustan Review* for April, 1909. "India has even now an immense advantage over Europe in having a still living national art. The wave of commercialism which in the last two centuries has swept over Europe,

† That is to say,—a city with British politico-commercial traditions.—*Vide* pp. 32-36 of January, 1912 number of this Journal, where the full meaning of the phrase is brought out.—*Editor*.

carrying away all but a few feeble remnants of the splendid traditional craftsmanship of the Middle Ages, has not yet entirely overwhelmed Indian Art. Art in India, especially in the North, is much more real and living, less artificial and exotic, than it is in the great art-centres of Europe. India needs no art school museums, picture and sculpture galleries. The descendants of the architects who built the Taj Mahal, of the Court painters who executed the exquisite miniatures which are the delight of modern connoisseurs, of the craftsmen who decorated the palaces of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and of the engineers who constructed their great public works, still carry on the traditions of their forefathers. And throughout the villages of India there are still handicraftsmen—weavers, cotton-painters, potters, goldsmiths, brass-smiths, wood and stone-carvers, etc., whose skill of hand and inherited craft-traditions represent a natural source of immense industrial wealth, which in Europe is being revived artificially by an elaborate and costly system of teaching in art schools, by museums, art-galleries and schools of handicraft."

Mr. Havell deplors the architectural policy of the Government which has been quite unsympathetic to Indian art-traditions and in his *Times* Letter, as also in the article from which we have just quoted prays for the reversal or at any rate a modification of that policy. He, like Mr. James Fergusson, holds to the view that "India could still rival her great architectural triumphs in the past if the cruel and senseless official boycott which our administrative system imposes upon our master-builders were removed." For, says he, "the Indian master-builders finds all approaches to lucrative employment barred to him throughout British India and in many of the Native States, unless he abandons all the traditions of Indian craftsmanship and becomes a mechanical copyist of the regulative European departmental designs. It is chiefly through this official neglect of Indian Architecture and contempt for Indian Art that the Indian aristocracy now fill their palaces with tenth-rate European pictures, instead of employing the Indian artists, descended from the Court painters of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, to decorate their *chitrasalas* or picture halls with splendid fresco-paintings, as they did in the days of the great Mogul." But notwithstanding this, Mr. Havell is not forgetful of the great, outstanding fact that if the living Indian master-builders find employment anywhere in India, it is in certain backward Native States which still cling to the traditions of the past. "For, where do the Indian master-builders who uphold the splendid traditions of Agra and Delhi find employment and encouragement? Not in British India, where we

have made monopoly ; but in the few "unprogressive" Native States, which still value their past artistic traditions." And again, in his Lecture on the *Uses of Art* delivered at Calcutta in December, 1905, on the occasion of the Anniversary meeting of the Chaitanya Library of this city, we find Mr. Havell speaking as follows :—"The descendants of the architects who showed such remarkable constructive invention and skill still practise their art in Rajputana, the Punjab and the United Provinces, and are only prevented from rivalling the great achievements of their ancestors because they are allowed no opportunity of doing so, except 'in a few of the Native States in which the blind imitation of debased European art has not yet become fashionable. Fergusson admitted that he had learnt more from these men of the principles of architecture as practised by the great architects of mediæval Europe than he had gained from all the books he had read. Yet these are the men who are ignored by Indian Universities, excluded from the system of Public Works and neglected by their own countrymen, because they are supposed to be deficient in practical knowledge."

III

The importance of the Government setting an example of true Swadeshi to the aristocracy of the land by adopting and emphasising the need for adopting, as far as may be, Indian architectural styles in the Imperial city of Delhi cannot be overrated. Mr. Alfred Chatterton, the industrial expert of the Madras Government in an article on the *Art Industries of Southern India* in the *Hindu* newspaper of Madras written so far back as September, 1910 speaks of the vitalising impetus imparted to craftsmanship in Mysore through the employment of local craftsmen in connection with the construction and decoration of the New Palace of the Maharaja. Says he :—"There is not the slightest doubt that the determination of those responsible for the building of the New Palace at Mysore to have the work carried out by the craftsmen of the State has done much to place the art industries of Mysore on a new footing and give them a new lease of life. There is much truth in the contention which has been put forward that the decadence of Indian art-industries is due to the neglect of Indian architecture and to the adoption of purely utilitarian ideas in regard to both public and private buildings, since the former were placed under the Public Works Department. Even in the Native States where the old regime is to some extent still kept up, the demand for the services of the local art craftsman is not what it used to be, owing to the general prevalence of the idea that it is a mark of enlightenment to prefer Western methods of decoration."

The influence that may be exerted by the Supreme Government on the tastes of the wealthier classes of the country, by its deciding to build their own buildings at Delhi not according to the time-honored traditions of the Public Works Department of the Government but in consonance with the artistic and architectural and imperial traditions of the Imperial city is bound to be very great. For as the seat of the Government, say what people may, Delhi is bound to rise in time to most imposing proportions. Being in the political focus of the country, it will attract to it the leisured classes from all over the country, and, more than ever Calcutta did, the visitors from outside India. There is even in Calcutta a very large number of residences maintained for Rajas, Nawabs and Princes, who occupy them for only a few winter months so as to be at the headquarters of the Imperial Government. It is probable that these residences will now be given up and that most of the owners will provide themselves with others in Delhi. Further, there is certain to be a legion of Chiefs from Central India, Rajputana and the Panjab who will, now that the Viceroy will be in their midst and in a climate that suits them, also provide themselves with residences at Delhi. Already there is the rumour, if we are to believe the *Statesman* newspaper of Calcutta (January 21, 1912) that "the building of the new Capital at Delhi is not to be confined to Public Works Department effort, for applications have reached the Government of India from most of the Ruling Chiefs for sites for houses they propose to erect there." If this be so, we expect to see in a few years an enormous fashionable city established, composed of the *elite* of India. And further there is not the least doubt that such of the European community as love to bask in the sunshine of Viceroyalty will assemble there for at least a portion of the plains season which we note is to be extended to six or seven months. The responsibility, therefore, of the Government choosing the right architectural policy in connexion with the new erections at Delhi is very great. Not only could the Government by its own independent efforts give an enormous and beneficial impetus to Indian craftsmanship through the grand opportunities afforded by the transfer of the seat of Government to Delhi, but what is not less important it could indirectly, by the example which it would set by adopting Indian Imperial traditions of architecture to the greater magnates and Chiefs who would be attracted to the New City, multiply a hundred fold its capacity for ameliorating the condition of the existing master builders of the country, for architecture is still a living national Art in India.

It is clear, therefore, that a great impetus to the loyalty of the masses of India would be imparted if the Government should be

persuaded to initiate or associate themselves with the kind of movement adumbrated in our Emperor's Speech at Mysore on 30th January, 1906, namely, a movement "which may either tend to improve the handicrafts of India or raise the social position of the artisan," for, in the memorable words of His Majesty the artisans of India represent "one of the most deserving and most important classes of the Indian people," and the amelioration of their condition is indeed a great part of statesmanship. Now is undoubtedly, for the Government, the time to revise their architectural *policy* and to bring hope and comfort into the hearts of many millions of Indians whose works are honoured and appreciated by all true lovers of the beautiful and the spiritual, but who lie low and obscure in a corner hardly able to eke out a living, or raise their head, because of the repressive artistic policy which has been in the ascendant. "We have seen much of the arts in India, but have seen very little of the artisans"—such were His Majesty's pathetic words uttered on 30th January, 1906 at Mysore, and it is idle to delude ourselves with the belief that the Indian master-builders and other artists, whose forefathers were highly honoured and rewarded by the Mogul Court now repose gratefully on the blessings of British Rule and never feel resentment in finding themselves reduced to the status of day-labourers under the present system? What a magnificent opportunity there is at the present day for our greater statesmen in India to bind and conciliate Indian Sentiment and raise the loyalty of the masses to a fervent pitch of adoration for the British *Raj*, if the architectural policy pursued by Akbar and Jahangir and Shah Jahan were restored and India once again set along the paths of her ancient traditions of art and craftsmanship!

THE LIFE OF A GREAT RELIGIOUS TEACHER OF MODERN BENGAL

AS PRESENTED IN A RECENTLY PUBLISHED BENGALI WORK

[Communicated]

NOTE BY THE EDITOR :—We have much pleasure in making room for the following contribution submitted to us by a correspondent in connection with a very recent book in Bengali by S^j. Jagadbandhu Maitra under the title of "PRABHUPADA BIJAY KRISHNA GOSWAMI." * The present article appears to be based mainly upon the above-mentioned book, although there is evidence that the writer has also drawn upon another work in Bengali dealing with the same subject from the pen of S^j. Bankabehary Kar † which was published about a year back from Dacca. The two books have features which may be said to be characteristic. S^j. Maitra's work is that of a disciple and constant companion, and written from the orthodox point of view ;

* To be had of the author at 21, Annadaprosad Bandopadhyaya Lane, Bowbazar, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2 (cloth-bound).

† To be had of the Bharat Mahila Steam-Machine Press, Wari, Dacca. Price Rs. 1-12 (cloth-bound).

while S. Kar's work which also on the whole is a very conscientious production, is written from the standpoint of an outside observer whose sympathies and instincts are partly Hindu and partly Brahmo. We desire to recommend both books to the notice and care of every educated Bengali, for we feel convinced that the invasion of Western materialism which is already upon us and which it should be the common endeavour of every spiritually-minded Indian to combat, is likely to receive an effectual set-back if our Western-educated Indian brethren, who are the products of the European movement which is playing havoc with Indian spirituality, be persuaded to drink more deeply and freely at the fount of inspiration and life afforded by the lives of those of our Teachers who have been face to face with the Divine, and whose influence is not exhausted by their withdrawal from our midst—who, in truth, by their superior might continue to guide and direct, even as they have done during their lives on earth, the thoughts and actions of those who look up to them for guidance and help in a spirit of loving humility and patient watchfulness. With these words we desire to commend the following to the notice of the readers of this Journal.

I

It is a great pleasure to the present writer to place before the readers of the *Dawn Magazine* some of the salient features in the life and character of a great religious Teacher of modern times, only recently gone,—as presented in a recently published book in Bengali entitled "PRABHUPADA BIJAY KRISHNA GOSWAMI" by S. Jagat Bandhu Maitra. This book gives ample evidence of the feelings of reverence and adoration which Goswami Prabhu was able to inspire in those who came under his immediate care and attention. Goswami Prabhu was born on the auspicious full-moon night of the second of August, 1841 in the family of one of the greatest spiritual leaders of latter-day Bengal, the famous Advaitacharya of Santipur in the district of Nadia, the staunchest friend and coadjutor of Sree Chaitanya, four centuries ago. The earlier part of his life relates to the period of studentship, first at a Chhatrapathi (indigenous Sanskrit College) in his own native town, then at the Government Sanskrit College at Calcutta, and lastly at the Calcutta Medical College. The biographer relates that in the year 1863, he was appointed a preacher of the Adi Brahmo Samaj at Calcutta by Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore, under whose leadership he devoted himself to the preaching of the Brahmo cult in and near Calcutta. A few years after (1866) there was a secession from the Adi Brahmo Samaj, and the Brahma Samaj of India was founded under the leadership of Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen, who found in

Sree Bijay Krishna his right-hand man in all matters connected with the propagation of the faith. Soon after there was another secession, this time from the Brahma Samaj of India, and the Sadharan Brahma Samaj of Calcutta was founded in 1878. It is needless to enter here into any detailed or any consideration of the circumstances that led to the establishment of two new Brahma Samajes in the course of less than a quarter of a century, but we find Sree Bijay Krishna Goswami always a tower of strength to his party by reason of his burning zeal for religion, his transparent honesty and sincerity of purpose, and his utter selflessness.

And now came the greatest turning-point in his spiritual career; for towards the latter end of the eighties of the last century he had begun to realise that the methods of spiritual discipline as promulgated by the Brahma Samaj were not such as would ultimately enable him to realise his heart's wish,—the coming face to face with the great God. And so at last we find him in 1883, receiving his Initiation and Illumination from his Gurudev—a great *Sannyasin* known as Paramhansji who was born of Panjabee Brahman parents and was a resident at *Manasa-Sarovar* in Tibet. It was at *Akus Ganga*, a hillock which is in the neighbourhood of Gaya, that Goswamiji received his Guru-Mantram, and one immediate result of his *Sakti-Sanchar* was that Goswamiji fell into the state of *Samadhi* (spiritual trance and ecstasy), in which state he remained for eleven days. By the command of Paramhansji, Goswami Prabhu was still to retain his old connection with the Sadharan Brahma Samaj as a preacher for a few years longer. The respect shown by him for Hindu gods and goddesses, and especially his open declaration that *Deeksha* or initiation by a Sad-Guru, was a necessity for the attainment of the 'highest spiritual growth—however proved too much for the authorities of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj (Calcutta and so Goswamiji gave up all connection with that Samaj in the year 1886, and with the Brahma Samaj of East Bengal in the year following (1887). Already a large number of spiritualists, above-Brahmos and Hindus had become his followers, and by reason of his undoubted spiritual pre-eminence and his transparent sincerity, he soon hailed as a Master.

II

The following twelve or thirteen years * of the life of Sree Bijay Krishna are of surpassing interest, as it was then that His Kingdom of view; Earth came to be finally disclosed and appreciated. The events of this the crowning period of the great Guru's life are, Bhawan-

* That is to say, the period covered by 1887-1899. Goswami Prabhu, Dacca. Price 1/6. His physical body and withdrew himself from the world at 9-20 P.M., 1899 (22nd Jaistha, 1306 B.S.)

been related by the biographer in considerable detail, and this forms the most important feature of the work under notice. The Guru's life at Brindavan,—at the *Kumbha-Mela* in Prayag (Allahabad),—at the Gandaria Asram at Dacca,—also at Calcutta, and, lastly,—at Puri where his last days were spent are related with a wealth of detailed incidents which are a revelation to most of us steeped in the mire of western materialism. At Calcutta, Goswamiji one day went with a number of disciples to see the late Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore, leader of the *Adi Brahma Samaj*. The latter embraced Goswami Prabhu with a fervour of emotion and blessed his disciples who had accompanied him. On that occasion, the Maharshi addressed the following words to the Goswami Prabhu. [The biographer relates that he was, as a disciple, one of the company]—"Your sight to-day reminds me of the days of the ancient Rishis. Just as they used to go about accompanied by their disciples, so you, too, have come here with your disciples. The object with which you had joined the Brahma Samaj, has been fulfilled. You have been blessed with the sight of God. These disciples of yours will also eventually be blessed and will attain to the Lotus-Feet of God through your grace. You are a very much deserving subject and entitled by your spirituality to rise high. So, could there be any doubt that you should have been blessed with God-vision? The capacities that fit one to realise God—all of them are present in your case. A good family, a good education, good company, a good occupation in life and a true Spiritual Guide (who himself has seen God) and the reading of good Shastras—these are the chief means whereby one may attain to the sight of God, and you possess every one of them. When you have received *Deeksha* (initiation) from a proper Acharya, it was natural that you should realise God." When Goswami Prabhu was about to leave the Maharshi, the latter addressed the following words to Goswami Prabhu's disciples: "My children, you have taken refuge in him with a view to the seeing God. Never give up this refuge. You must never think that the connection with him is of this world only—that that relation will stand with the disappearance of the body. Your relation with him is staunch and eternal. Death cannot sever this mutual relation of yours. He will be with you through time eternal along the path of Dharma, holding at a Chakra hand. Under his guidance, you will advance eternally along the path of Dharma." Goswamiji on another occasion went to pay a visit to the Maharshi who was then living at Park Street, Calcutta; in the year 1863, the words that fell from the Maharshi's lips, were those containing the well-known sloka—

Calcutta by he devoted श्री नमो ब्रह्मण्यदेवाय गात्राक्षय क्षिताय च ।

Calcutta. जगद्धिताय कृष्णाय गाविन्दाय नमोऽनमः ॥

Brahmo Samaj translation of the above sloka :—

the leaders of Thee, O Brahmanya Deva, O Friend of Kine and Brahmanas, O the World, O Krishna, O Govinda ! I bow to Thee again and again !

III

The biographer has written a very interesting chapter on "प्रयागे गङ्गा श्री कुम्भमेला" or a visit to the holy Prayag or Allahabad on the occasion of the Kumbha-mela, which is perhaps the greatest religious congress in India with a history dating far back into ages gone by. He has given a running account of some of the great leaders of the religious orders who had made their homes at the Mela for about a month or more with their disciples. Among them were Sannyasins, Vaishnavas, Nanak-Panthis, Dadu-Panthis, Kabir-Panthis, Garib-Dasis, Aghor-Panthis, Gorakhnathis and other orders of Sadhus, and the author has referred to the religious conversations held among them at the Mela. Goswami Prabhu was one of the spiritual leaders who with his disciples lived with the Sadhus and the leaders of the different religious orders assembled at the Mela, and was accorded by them a high place in the great gathering. The biographer makes mention of the following great leaders who held Goswami Prabhu in the highest respect and were frequently found in his company:—Mauni Baba, Bholanand Giri and Amareswaranand Puri of the Sannyasi order; Kathia Ram Das Babaji, Chhota Kathia Baba, Narsing Das Babaji or Pahari Baba, Kshepachand or Arjun Das Babaji of the Vaishnava order; Gambhiranath Babaji of the Gorakhnathi order; Rangia Baba of the Nanak-Panthis; Dayal Das Baba of the Garib-Dasi order, and others.

The biographer relates certain characteristic incidents falling under the latter part of Goswami Prabhu's life which require to be mentioned here. In his *asram* or residence at Dacca, Calcutta, or Puri there was every day a large concourse of disciples, friends and visitors coming from far and near, and they were at all hours welcome. Most of them had to be fed and the feeding was on no meagre scale, in so the daily expenditure ran up to a high figure. And Goswami Prabhu had no funds of his own. His whole resource was dependent on God; and so he never felt worried about the expenses. He never asked anybody, whether disciple or outsider, for help of any whatsoever; and yet he was spending freely a considerable sum of money every day to alleviate distress or feed those who came about him. It happened that in 1891 Goswami Prabhu intimated to his disciples that he would for a time go and live at Calcutta. He was a disciple and at his Gandaria Asram at Dacca. Some of his disciples of view; there might be difficulty in meeting the expenses in a city like Calcutta, especially as Goswami Prabhu was constantly feeding his disciples, and making presents to Sadhus and others. So these disciples of Dacca. Price from amongst themselves a sum of money which, they

their first experience), would meet a month's expenses of their Guru here. What actually happened, however, was that the expenses incurred by Goswami Prabhu far exceeded the sum collected by his disciples, and these expenses were met as usual under Divine dispensation. One day, while at Puri, Goswami Prabhu received the Divine Mandate to celebrate a great *Damasagar* (दानसागर) which consisted in making gifts of cloth, metallic utensils, coins, etc., to all who might be in need and would come to receive them. The news soon spread far and wide and the biographer writes of the distribution of gifts being conducted on a right royal scale to all and sundry, and it is reported that a sum amounting to Rs. 50,000 was thus spent.

IV

Goswami Prabhu was a Sad-Guru,—One who has seen God and is in constant touch with Him, receiving orders from Him and doing nothing but carrying out His mandates and wishes. The Divine Mission with which he was entrusted, during the last period of his life, was to take unto the Divine fold men and women who were fit to be so admitted. It was thus that a large number of men and women, of all creeds and castes, came to be his disciples. For, the biographer mentions one distinctive fact connected with this matter, which was that a man's belonging to any particular creed or sect or caste was no bar to his receiving the *Sadhan* or the spiritual initiation at Goswamiji's hands. Goswami Prabhu used to say :—" Just as the water, the air, the rain, the sun, and the clouds serve under God all equally without making any kind of distinction of caste, *varna*, or sect, and between high and low, so the *Sadhan* or spiritual discipline by which God is to be realised, is not intended for any particular caste, *varna*, or sect. A Mahomedan could follow the injunctions of the Koran, a Christian could obey the commandments of the Bible, a *Sakta*, a *Saiva*, and a *Vaishnava* could follow the injunctions of their respective Shastras,—and so each pursuing the special religious convictions, could receive the *Sadhan* or the spiritual discipline which would enable the devotee to reach God." And so the early disciples are found men of different creeds, faiths and sects. at a *Chakra* the *Sadhan* to which we have just adverted, there were certain rules of conduct upon which Goswami Prabhu would insist more at the Calcutta. Some of them were :—(1) To avoid intoxicants, nor to eat meat, year 1863, after medical advice. (2) Never to take food which is *uchchhista* Calcutta by another's mouth) except that of parents' which is *prasad* (sacred). he devoted the parents as visible *Devatas*. (4) To avoid backbiting, (5) To Calcutta. (6) To establish godly relations between husband and Brahmo Samaj to pay proper respects to all *Sadhus* and *Bhaktas* whether the leaders of Christian, *Sakta*, *Saiva*, *Vaishnava*, or *Sannyasin*, etc.

(8) One may cultivate the *Sadhan* referred to without in any way contravening the rules and laws required of the follower of any particular faith : for the Truth—the Real Dharma will undoubtedly reveal itself to the devotee who has been practising the *Sadhan*.

V

Lastly, it is necessary to record Goswami Prabhu's teachings on the different stages of spiritual growth of the human soul. These stages are distinct and are five in number : First comes the stage of morality ; the second is the stage of *Sadhan* or of spiritual discipline after initiation (दीक्षा) by a competent Acharya. The third stage is the stage of Brahma-Darshan. The words of Goswami Prabhu are explicit on this point.* "When the human soul (Jeevatma) first meets the Supreme Soul (Paramatma) it forgets itself. What is present to it is only the presence of Brahman. When a particle of water enters the boundless ocean it sees only the eternal surging waves encompassing it on all sides ; and while so surrounded it sometimes rises up and floats on the surface and sometimes goes down and disappears in the waters beneath. But never does the human soul (Jeevatma) cease to exist."* This is the first stage on the upward path of the liberated soul—the stage of Brahma-Darshan (ब्रह्मदर्शन) or the Realisation of Brahman. The second stage leads the aspirant still higher. No longer overwhelmed by the presence of the Brahman, "the human soul (Jeevatma) realises the Supreme Soul (Paramatma) in itself," and "feels itself guided by an inscrutable Power, every single limb and every single part of it pervaded, and impelled by that Power. This stage is the stage of Atma-Darshan," (आत्मदर्शन,) more properly the stage of "Yoga," in the sense of union of the Jeevatma with the Paramatma. Then comes a still higher and the final stage in which the aspirant establishes definite relationships with Brahman, coming face to face with his transcendental Forms of manifestation and offers Him worship and adoration. This Rupa or manifestation is SAT, CHIT and ANANDAM. This stage is the stage of Lila-Darshan (लीलादर्शन).

With regard to the stage of *Sadhan* which, as we have seen preceding the stage of Brahma-Darshan, Goswamiiji would insist on its supreme importance to the aspirant after emancipation. His words are clear and explicit on the question of the importance of *Sadhan* in "The principle of Divine Grace (कृपा) comes in at a far later stage, as long as the sense of honour and dishonour, pleasure and pain, selfishness and anger are present, self-effort becomes an indispensable duty—self-effort constitutes *Sadhan*. I am quite incapable of effort—self-expression is only a form of sentimentalism."* And *Sadhan* as also proper spiritual guidance, is bound to lead to God-vision. subject Prabhu's words on this point are as follows :—"It is not true that God is distant from us, He is always present with us. When the mass of sins (पापराशि) is burnt up through *Sadhan*, God may be becomes manifest like a transparent mirror in which the whole of the universe—from a speck of dust to the whole solar system—becomes visible of view ;

* The above facts, it appears, are taken by the writer exclusively from Behari Kar's work entitled "Mahatma Bijay Krishna Goswami's Life and Work." The inquiring reader may himself refer to the exact statements in the Goswami Prabhu in the chapter on *Question and Answer* in Mr. Dacca. Price Book.—Editor.

INDUSTRIES MUST PRECEDE TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN INDIA

PART II: TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

"INDUSTRIES MUST PRECEDE TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN INDIA":

MR. HAROLD COX ON THE QUESTION

I

Mr. Harold Cox, a former Member of the House of Commons, who came out to India during the recent Imperial Visit, as representative of an English journal, writes a very important paper on the subject of *Technical Education in India* in the columns of the *Calcutta Statesman*.* Mr. Harold Cox is a widely known economic thinker and writer, who made himself famous by entering the lists against Mr. Balfour, then Prime Minister, in the early part of the present century on the much debated question of Free-trade versus Protection,—by his most effective Reply to Mr. Balfour's *Economic Notes on Insular Free Trade*. Mr. Cox knows Indian conditions also, having been on the staff of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh and he was valued for his services to the Muslim community. The question for the consideration of which he demands public attention may be thus put:—*Is the present Movement for Technical Education well-guided?* His answer is, No; and his chief argument shortly put is—**Industries must precede Technical Instruction**; and his appeal both to the Indian leaders and to the Government is that they should recognise fully and properly the great outstanding fact that the services of those who receive technical instruction should have to be utilised, —and this could not be done unless there is a corresponding and proportionate investment of Capital and Enterprise for purposes of industrial development. This view of the matter has also been insisted on by Mr. Alfred Chatterton, the well-known industrial expert now in the service of the Madras Government, in the April, 1910 number of *Science Progress*, "a Quarterly Journal of Scientific Work and Thought," published by Messrs. Murray, London. In view of the need for a proper understanding of the situation we give below a somewhat lengthy quotation from the Chatterton's article which is entitled *The Indian Industrial Problem* (stated p. 553-54):—"At first the cry for technical education in India was The audible echo of that raised in England and awakened no response from at a limited classes. There was a demand for the services of university town, and they could readily obtain employment; *the rest of the country* at the Calcutta. All the technically trained men required for Government and for year 1863, concerns working on modern lines were obtained from Europe; Calcutta by itself could see its sons finding congenial careers in the administrative he devoted country, in the learned professions and in the educational institutions Calcutta. The rapidly expanding. From the early nineties onwards, the supply Brahmo Samaj graduates began to exceed the demand and year by year the the leaders of January 8, 1914

competition has been steadily increasing, with the inevitable result that attention has been turned to other spheres of activity. When it was found that a university training and a university degree were no passports to an industrial career, a genuine demand began to assert itself for technical education and it was soon found that no provision had been made in the country to meet it. A few enterprising youths sought in Europe what they could not obtain at home, to meet only with bitter disappointment on their return. Their education in India was found to be an unsatisfactory preparation for foreign technical schools; they benefited little by their studies and returned to India completely lacking that practical knowledge and experience which are absolutely essential to success in an industrial career. Gradually it has become evident both to the Government and to the educated classes in India that **industries must precede technical instruction** and that any industrial development must follow on the lines which have been so successfully pursued in the case of the cotton industry in Western India, the jute and mining industries in Bengal, the leather and cotton trades of Cawnpore and the many miscellaneous industrial undertakings which have been successfully established in every province of India."

Mr. Harold Cox's view is almost identical with Mr. Chatterton's, for he holds that the present demand for an extended technical education for the gentlemanly, educated middle classes *as contra-distinguished from the hereditary artisan population*—is bound to prove futile, until and unless the utilisation of the services of those who are technically trained is *properly guaranteed*. It appears that the authorities since the time of Lord Curzon has been quite appreciative of the soundness of the position for which both Mr. Chatterton and Mr. Cox plead; but it is only in the course of the last year that the Government of India, feeling the increasing urgency of the problem, has been led to form and appoint an important Advisory Committee of their own educational experts* who has been specially deputed to go about the country obtaining accurate information from the proprietors and managers of the existing industrial concerns, private and public, in the country on the question of the present and prospective demand for the services of students "technically" trained under Government control or supervision. It is Mr. Cox's contention that the result of proper enquiries undertaken by Government, the demand for technical education for the sons of the *Bhadrolog* class which, in his view, at present has risen to the dimensions of a "craze," would dwindle as also reduced to natural proportions, and in consequence there would be subject

* Colonel Atkinson, Principal Roorkee College, U.P., and Principal about the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Bombay, are members of this commission. They have been touring about the country and at the present time in Calcutta, collecting information from the heads of all important concerns of view; tions connected with industrial matters. It is understood that they will go to Madras and South India. The chief object of this roving Commission, Bhowa-collect as much information as possible regarding the present condition of Indians and the prospect of fitting them for the posts aimed at." Dacca. Price

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appreciation of the true methods of work in the interest of the industrial development of India. We reprint below the most important portions of Mr. Cox's valuable article.

II

"SINCE I have been in India nothing has surprised me so much as the extravagant importance attached by leaders of Indian opinion to Technical Education. There seems to be a universal belief that technical education is a kind of fetish which has only to be set up and worshipped, and straightway flourishing industries will spring into being all over India. Even cautious thinkers seem to regard technical education as the first essential to the industrial development of the country. That this sudden craze should have taken possession of Indian minds is all the more surprising to me, because I can remember that when I was in India before, proposals to substitute technical for literary education were very properly scouted by Indian opinion. To European advisers who somewhat thoughtlessly said: "Learn trades and make fortunes"—Indian gentlemen replied that there was an immediate market at the Bar and in Government service for young men who had received a literary education, but there was no such market visible for boys who had received an industrial training. Twenty years have passed, but the same answer might still be made. It is true that the number of competitors for Government service and the Bar is greater than before, but the prizes are still there in goodly number for the best men to win, whereas, as far as I have been able to learn, in the case of technical education there are practically no prizes at all. People say that until India possesses an industrially trained population she cannot possess industries. That is a question which I will discuss presently, but it only remotely concerns the parent who is considering what are the openings for his son. The sensible Indian knows that a boy who has had a literary education will have a chance of obtaining a really good position as a barrister or as a civil servant, and that even if he completely misses these chances he will still be able to find some employment as a clerk or a teacher. But suppose the boy has been sent to a technological college and learnt the technique of the particular industry, what is he to do with his knowledge? Who is going to give him employment? It is no answer to these questions to say that technical education is a prelude to the industrial development of the country. The end is employment; he does not want 'preludes to industrial development.'

Let me relate an anecdote. Some years ago the Government of India, at the Calcutta Exhibition, also been bitten with this craze for technical education, sent to India an Indian boy to be taught the art of dyeing according to the latest methods in a technical college in Yorkshire. He was a very bright boy, he worked hard and gave complete satisfaction to his teachers. Just as he was about to graduate, a big English firm asked the principal of the college to recommend a scientific expert in dyeing. Without any hesitation the principal recommended this young Indian lad, and the firm, after making inquiries, engaged him at a salary of £200 to £300 a year. That is

not a very princely salary after several years of hard work, but the point of the story is that the employment of this young man in England by an English firm is in no way a "prelude to the industrial development" of India, and is a very unsatisfactory return for the money which the Indian taxpayers have lavished on the boy's education.

"If anyone asks why this Indian boy finds employment in England and not in India, the answer is very simple. In England industrial development has reached a high level, and therefore there is a demand for scientifically trained experts; in India industrial undertakings of the modern type are extremely rare, and must remain rare until more capital and more enterprise are forthcoming. Industries are not started because a number of class-room trained experts are clamouring for employment. Before an industry can be started, somebody must have the enterprise and energy to organize its beginnings; and that somebody must either have capital of his own, or else must be able to persuade other people to supply the capital required. *These are the primary essentials to the establishment of any new industry*, and, if they can be secured, the remaining difficulties can be faced with some hope of success. But unless the spirit of enterprise exists and capital is forthcoming, nothing can be done. In India there is very little enterprise, and if capital exists its owners decline to invest it in Indian enterprises. Therefore, for the Government to spend large sums on technical education would be not only a waste of the taxpayers' money, but a cruel wrong to the boys who had been deluded into acquiring knowledge for which there was no market. The matter can easily be put to a test. Let the Government, before launching out on any big schemes of technical education, ascertain how many firms there are in the whole of India who want an expert chemist or an expert dyer, or any other kind of expert that it is proposed to turn out from the technical schools. Let the Government further enquire what salaries these firms propose to pay, and to what extent they are willing to employ Indians in place of Europeans. When this information has been collected and published I suspect that there will be very little further demand for technical education on a wholesale scale.*

Ahu

"These considerations, of course, in no way affect the altogether *phil.*" * problem of providing tuition for boys who look for employment in above-ordinate branches of industry or commerce. There is certain to be also larger towns a steady demand year in and year out for skilled *mechanical* subject for clerks who can write shorthand and use a typewriter and who have about a knowledge of the elements of accountancy. Doubtless the Education authorities already have given attention to these points, but when a native principle and talks enthusiastically of the blessings of technical education, he is of view; thinking of something very different from the training of clerks and *He has in his mind the conception that the sons of gentlemen of* *ane, Bhowa-*

* This is exactly what the Government of India has at length *do.* For fuller particulars see previous footnote *Dacca. Price*

school class-rooms how to become great captains of industry. That is the wildest delusion. Even in Europe the school-trained industrial expert can as a rule only look forward to a very modest salary as a paid servant in some big firm. I am told that in Germany first-class chemists are to be had for little over £100 a year. In India, there is not even this outlet for the talents of the industrial expert, and a boy who had devoted precious years of his early life to mastering the technical details and scientific principles of some particular trade would find when he left school that, from the point of view of earning money, all his time had been wasted."

WOULD SWADESHI ULTIMATELY BENEFIT THE INDIGENOUS ARTIZAN POPULATIONS OF INDIA ?

Views of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, M. P.

In his recent much appreciated and very suggestive book, *The Awakening of India* (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1910), Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, M. P., leader of the Independent Labour Party, who visited India in 1910 and who was to have presided over the 1911 Sessions of the Indian National Congress, expresses the opinion that *Swadeshi on present lines* would mainly benefit not the great body of hereditary artizans, but only the English-educated middle class people who would be able to exploit the former and get rich at their expense. This point is worth considering by all true lovers of India ; for the public opinion that at present makes itself heard, respected and recognised is the opinion of the great body of middle class people educated on Western lines and seeking to find out lucrative openings for their talents and energies. The Western educated, modern Indian bent on earning a living, if he is industrially inclined, seeks to pose as the supervisor of labour, and is hardly able to value the work turned out by the great body of skilled artizans in the country, amounting to million upon million, except as a means of exploitation. He would find it more convenient and more profitable to come forward, where he is so inclined, as the employer of labour, rather than to form an organic part of the community of craftsmen, and so one result of his efforts in the direction of industrial development would be to reduce the existing body of hand-labourers to the position of day-labourers or wage-earners merely. And in his case the only justification for his conduct that he could put forward is that he is staunchly against no new propaganda but is merely being carried along the current which, from the West, has already invaded our shores. It is clear that the prevalent *Chauvini* sentiment, if it is to prove a source of real benefit to the hand-labouring population of India, will have to be better instructed and better guided. The Indian Industrial Conferences and Industrial Associations that have sprung up in the country are worked principally in the interests of the small group of Western-educated Indians who would form no organic part of the artizan population of the land and who would not therefore be devoted to the cause of Indian craftsmanship, but whose vocation would be to exploit the existing artizan population in their own interests. With these words of explanation we desire to reprint the following views of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald whose words should undoubtedly

carry great weight with our leaders, who had of their own motion invited him to the high post of the President of the Indian National Congress, 1911.

"I have referred to Swadeshi and the hand worker, and I return to it to repeat that Swadeshi is not going to carry India very far. As a sentiment it is excellent; as an industrial policy its limits of usefulness are exceedingly circumscribed. It is true that Swadeshi has done something for technical education, and that it has tried to encourage some branches of hand-work. But, however offensive the thought may be to the good Nationalist, **the Indian Swadeshi Movement is imbued with Western notions of profit, factories, balance of trade.** One has only to read the Presidential Addresses at the annual Indian Industrial Conferences to see that. The President at Surat, for instance, boasted that fifteen private banks, five navigation companies, twenty-two new cotton mills, two jute mills, and so on, had been set on foot by Swadeshi. *The Swadeshi which this gentleman voiced was one which would enable him and his class to create an efficient machinery for the exploitation of the poor wage-earner, without let or hindrance by the Government.* Many Indians curse Lancashire solely because they want powers of exploitation for themselves which they imagine Lancashire to possess through the British Government. I have come away convinced that the industrial future of India is assured, and that **one of the great dangers ahead—a danger which I think some of the sympathetic administrators I met are inclined to minimise—is an individualism far less controlled than ours was a century ago, armed with opportunities of exploitation far more dangerous than ours ever were, productive, in consequence, of evils to the people far more dire, than any which we have known.** "Have you ever thought out the consequences of Protection on India?" I asked one of the most eminent of the Nationalist leaders in Calcutta. "No," he replied, "I simply want to get our craftsmen at work again; and so long as English stuff comes into the market that cannot be done." "Have you thought whether it would be *your craftsmen or your factories that would benefit—if either did?*" I pursued, but he had not."—(From Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's *The Awakening of India*, pp. 138, 139, 133.)

That the *Swadeshi* sentiment has mostly taken a direction which spells ill for the growth of a taste for home-made articles of Indian craftsmen is also recognised by an industrial expert like Mr. Alfred Chatterton of the Madras Presidency, who enters a very cogent plea in favour of Indian craftsmanship in his article on *the Art Industries of Southern India* appearing sometime in September, 1910 in the *Hindu* newspaper of Madras. The *Swadeshi* sentiment which is avowedly intended to try and cultivate a taste for indigenous articles is still almost wholly alien in its sympathies and ideals being busy with questions of "profit, factories and balance of trade," as Mr. Ramsay Macdonald would put it, and does little to help Indian craftsmen. "The Indian humen," observes Mr. Chatterton, (speaking with reference to his own *Phil.*) "are almost entirely dependent upon Europeans for patronage and the upper classes in this country take little or no interest in the truly above-Movement to infuse life and vitality in the arts and crafts of the *as also* It is becoming increasingly evident that but a minor degree of *of* subject attend their efforts so long as the people themselves hold aloof." Mr. Chatterton observes that "there is plenty of evidence that the old skill can stand about a forth by congenial surroundings and there is not the least *of* may be craftsmen of to-day are in no way inferior to their predecessors. Unfortunately the *Swadeshi* sentiment at present looks not to *in* principle and West for her ideals and the present-day *Swadeshist* is sadly *of* view; duty to conserve the treasures of inherited skill and aptitude *of* on the ground, while he is busy to identify and incorporate himself *of* Bhawanee, and abandon himself to the current of unspiritual utilitarian *of* commercialism, twin fates that are guiding the West along the *of* Dacca. Price to destruction.

PART III

SECTION I: INDIAN EDUCATIONAL AND ALLIED MOVEMENTS

(Nil—Space not Available in this Number)

SECTION II : STUDENTS' COLUMN

THE ONAM FESTIVAL: THE GREAT NATIONAL FESTIVAL OF MALABAR

(Concluded from pp. 145-46 of Part III of the November, 1911 number)

IV. Celebrations (Continued)

GAMES AND DANCING

On this festive occasion both the men and the women of Malabar indulge in various kinds of games and amusements. Boxing is the chief game of the men. At about two o'clock in the afternoon men of all castes, except the *Nambudiris*, who are the most aristocratic, are found assembled in the neighbouring maidan to witness boxing or hand-to-hand fight; and out of the assembled spectators, the richest and most powerful man is usually selected as the *Umpire*. Another man is appointed to keep off the crowd from coming too near the combatants. Then one of the intending boxers comes out into the arena and, raising up his hand, challenges other people to fight with him. At this another boxer steps in and accepts the challenge and then a terrible hand-to-hand fight ensues. If the fight ends in a decisive victory for one of the combatants, he is rewarded with rich clothes amid loud shouts of applause. If it is a drawn fight, that is, if both are of equal strength and neither of them is pronounced defeated by the other, both the combatants receive rewards. They compete for this reward and it is said that there are many skilful boxers in Malabar.

The principal amusement of the females is *Onakali*, a peculiar kind of stanchion commonly practised by the Nayar ladies. At about 1 P. M. all the ladies of the *therai* (the village of the Nuyars) assemble together in a certain place where *Onakali* is to be performed. They stand forming a circle, each with her hands being held by two others standing by her side. They dance in a fantastic way, singing all the while in a chorus a song specially selected for the occasion. When it is five in the evening, the merry gathering disperses and each lady retires to her own house.

The various games and festivities are observed throughout the duration of the Onam festival. With the evening of the *Thiruvonam* day the festival of Malabar comes to an end and another year must elapse before the same joyous festivities are repeated.

V. Mythological Reference

We have already seen that the hero in whose honour the Onam festival, which is the national festival of the Malabar country, is celebrated, is the mighty King Mahabali of Pauranic fame who ruled over Malabar in ages gone by and whose sway is said to have extended over the whole world. It is popularly believed that on the *Thiruvonam* day of this annual festival, King Mahabali appears in Malabar in the form of a Spirit and during the ten or twelve days of the festival the people give themselves up to joy and merriment and are found as happy and prosperous as they were when Mahabali was reigning over them.

In the Puranas, the country to which Mahabali had been sent down by order of Vishnu is called Pathala (Netherworld), and according to a recent writer in the *Tamilian Antiquary* No. 7 (1910), Mr. P. V. Nanu Pillai, B. A., the Pathala mentioned in the Puranas and which is popularly known as the kingdom of Mahabali, corresponds to some part of South India. We give below in his own words some of his reasons :

"Now one word about *Pathala* and I have done with this historical aspect. Where was this Pathala? Was it an underground world or was it any country in India itself? I say it is no underground world. It was some place in South India itself where the non-Aryanised population of India took final shelter. Let us then see what part of South India corresponds exactly with the description of the *Pathala* mentioned in the Puranas. I think that the country bordered on the east by the Western Ghats, on the north by the mountains near Nasik and on the west and south by the Sea was probably the *Pathala* of the Puranas. The synonyms for Pathala are *Adho-bhuzana* 'an underground world'; *Balisatma* 'the country of Mahabali,' the Asura chief; *Nagaloka*, 'the country of serpents'; and *Kuhara* 'a cave.' This country on the Malabar Coast which I have mentioned is the only place even now for a pursued army to take final shelter in South India. It was unknown to the Aryans until a very late date. The Ramayana professes to be entirely ignorant of the countries south of Nasik. This country is called even to this day as Papabhumi, 'the country of the *Papis* or barbarians,' by the Hindus. It is an underground world when looked down from the Western Ghats. It is again at the foot of the world when viewed from the hills. It is this country in which even to this day the memory of an Asura chief is cherished with joy and enthusiasm. *Onam* and other festive days are all in commemoration of the ideal Asura King, Mahabali. In no other part of India we will find the memory of an Asura chief so much cherished. Again, the Malabar Coast is the abode of serpent-chiefs of eminence.....The present Nairs are probably the descendants of those Asura warriors who defied the power of the Aryans in the plains and who, when they found that resistance was hopeless to defend the plains, sent first their women and children into the country beyond the Ghats and stationed powerful military guard in all the passes that opened the country to outer world.....these facts more than bear out the truth of my statement that the country described in the Puranas is the country of the Malabar Coast."

AN ALAT

STUDENT.

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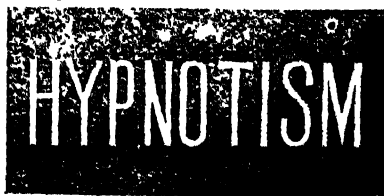
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WHOLE
No 172

PART I: INDIANA

INTERPRETATION OF INDIAN ART IN THE LIGHT OF INDIAN LITERARY RECORDS: A NEW BRANCH OF STUDY

I

The suggestion made by Sj. Akshay Kumar Maity, Calcutta, Bengal, in a letter, which appears on another page, is undoubtedly a most important one from the point of view of a better understanding of the development of Indian art ideals. The interpretation of the hitherto collected specimens of Indian religious art, solely with the help of the texts lying scattered over published and unpublished works in Sanskrit, is indeed a crying need. Hitherto the study of Indian art, especially the arts of sculpture and painting, have been carried on mainly by European archeologists who have had hardly any opportunities of studying the subject in connection with the data supplied by the existing literary records of the country. As Dr. Coomaraswamy pointed out, in a lecture delivered by him on the 8th March, 1910, at the Royal Asiatic Society, London, "some extraordinary oversight has prevented any European writer from seeking assistance in Sanskrit writing on the theory of Aesthetics or in a study of the Silpa Sastras" ¹. "One would have supposed," he continues, "that these would have been made at least the foundation of a study of the theory and development of Indian Art." Mr. E. B. Havell also expresses the same view in his latest book, "Ideals of Indian Art" (p. 116): "Practically the whole of that part of Indian literature, the Silpa Sastras, which is concerned with the principles and practice of art, has hitherto been completely ignored by European scholars. No one has even thought it worth while to compile a catalogue, much less to devote time to the study of it. So far as art is concerned, Indian literature is a totally unexplored field."

1. Vide the "Correspondence" appearing at p. 19 of Part III of this number of the Dawn.

2a. Indian treatises in Sanskrit on Silpa or Art; a Silpi is an artist.

The need for a proper exploration of the *Silpa Sastra* literature was brought prominently to the notice of Western Orientalists at the Fifteenth International Congress of Orientalists held at Copenhagen in August, 1908, both by Dr. Coomaraswamy and by Mr. F. O. Oertel, to whose enthusiastic interest in Indian art and archaeology is due the initiation of the recent excavations at the Buddhist site of Sarnath, near Benares. In a paper read by Mr. Oertel before the Congress, he said :—" In conclusion I would like to take this opportunity to draw the attention of the Congress to the difficulty experienced in the study of Indian art and architecture owing to the want of accurate translations of the *Silpa Sastras* dealing with these subjects. Dr. Coomaraswamy, in his forthcoming book on Indian art is, I understand, giving a translation of a Ms. from Ceylon dealing with the making of images. This will be interesting in its way, but what we more particularly want is full translations of the Sanskrit works on the subject of architecture with the rules for the construction of stupas, temples, monasteries, and other edifices, rules partially followed by the present day native builders^{1b}. That such works exist not only in India, but also in Ceylon and other countries in the East, is well-known, but so far Sanskrit scholars have not cared to take up the subject, probably on account of the difficulty of translating the technical terms. If the Congress agree with me and give their support to the proposal, something may perhaps be done to supply this defect. Prof. Thibaut has already announced that the Calcutta University are going to arrange for the translation of Sanskrit astronomical works. This encourages me to suggest that some other University or public body should take up the subject of Indian architectural works, and if possible depute some young Sanskritist to study the subject in India itself." In publishing Mr. Oertel's paper in *The Indian Antiquary* for October, 1908, Sir Richard Temple, the editor of the journal, adds a prefatory note in which he states that "*the Congress formally adopted Mr. Oertel's*

1b. That a proper study of the *Silpa Sastras* is not merely an academic interest, but has an ~~important~~ ^{important} ~~role~~ ^{role} in the teaching of art in modern art schools in India will appear from some observations made by Mr. Hadaway, the present Superintendent of the Government School of Art, Madras, in his Report on the working of the School, for the year 1908-1909. In that Report Mr. Hadaway recommends that the Madras Art School should, when it becomes possible, establish classes for the study of indigenous architecture according to the principles and rules laid down in the *Silpa Sastras*. Mr. Hadaway had received friendly help towards translation of the *Silpa Sastras* given him by the Superintendent of the School of Art, ^{Trivandrum}, and is of opinion that a great and real good would be done towards the understanding and proper use of architectural forms, and also of building, if some commission of experts could be got together to go into the matter thoroughly. He further emphasises the importance of a thorough study of these old works by observing that though hereditary artisans are said to know these works and though no doubt they do to a slight extent, yet as their knowledge has been handed down from father to son, it has become very much corrupted." [From *The Hindu* of Madras, weekly edition, September 8, 1909].

suggestion that arrangements should be made to collect and translate all the *Silpa Sastras* dealing with architecture and sculpture that can be traced, and expresses the hope that "perhaps some of our readers may see their way to co-operating in this work."

II

The true bearing of the study of Indian art in the light of the clues to be found in Indian literary records will be understood when we consider some of the other alternative methods of study that have been suggested and followed by a class of European scholars. Writers like Mr. Vincent A. Smith and Sir George Birdwood seem to argue that for the aesthetic study of the surviving remnants of Indian art it is enough to directly examine the works of art themselves without having any preliminary grounding in the indigenous literature and tradition: "that no qualification of knowledge of and sympathy for Indian mysticism and ideals of life and character is needed for the study of Indian art; that it is sufficient for the student, lacking these qualifications to know only whether he 'likes' or 'dislikes' a given example of Brahmanical or Buddhist art; that such art has no connection with Indian idealistic thought, and that those who trace such a connection are themselves reading the *Upanishads* into the paintings and sculptures."² The ~~idea~~ of this method of work has been that the study of Indian art in the hands of European scholars like Grünwedel, Foucher, "Smith has been based on more or less unsubstantiated theories and hypotheses, and has been marked by an overdue emphasis on ~~the~~ or supposed marks of borrowing from European sources. In the words of Dr. Coomaraswamy, "the prevailing idea appears to be that the proper thing to do (for a historian of the art of India) is to enquire how far it, at any time, approximates to the art of some other country (e.g., Greece) or period which the writer understands and approves of; to seek for ~~any~~ traces of the influence of this approved style upon the style of the country ~~in the~~ period investigated and to condemn the remainder as barbaric."

A wholly different method of study was adopted by Mr. Havell and Dr. Coomaraswamy with the result that their labours in this field have revolutionised the notions about Indian art which were current only five years ago. They have deemed it necessary "to so study the life and thought of India, especially in its religious aspects, as to make it possible to see the world to some extent through Indian eyes, and so to gradually understand the expression of the Indian genius, in Indian art." For, according to them, "the understanding of Indian art can only be attained through a realisation of the mental

2. This view was upheld by Sir George Birdwood in a speech at the Royal Society of Arts, February 13, 1910 and by Mr. V. A. Smith in a lecture on 'Indian Art' at the Royal Asiatic Society, January 11, 1910. Dr. Coomaraswamy combatted these views in a lecture at the Royal Asiatic Society on March 8, 1911. This lecture has been specially reported in full in the *Hindu* newspaper of Madras (vide weekly edition, March 31, 1910).

atmosphere in which it grew." "The sculptures," says Dr. Coomaraswamy, are just "as truly an expression of the Indian mind as the Upanishads, or the Saivite hymns, and we should therefore *a priori* expect their passion and pre-occupations to be similar to the passion and pre-occupations of Indian written religious art. It is only the modern western separation of art, life, and religion which makes it possible to be imagined otherwise." Instead, therefore, of apologising for reading the Upanishads into Indian sculpture, he contends that "the religious books afford a very valuable, if not the best available, means of understanding the religious art."

While, however, this general study of the ideas and ideals embodied in religious literature and tradition has proved very helpful to a general understanding and appreciation of the essential genius and the broad features of Indian Art, the time, perhaps, has arrived for a further step to be taken. A thorough and systematic study of the theory and development of Indian art must now be undertaken on the basis so well laid by the pioneer work of Mr. Havell and Dr. Coomaraswamy. For such a study, it is necessary to have recourse to the Sanskrit works on the theory of Aesthetics (सुवृत्तशास्त्र), the *Silpa-Sastras*, and such other indigenous literary records as deal directly with the arts. "These," as Dr. Coomaraswamy has pointed out, "should have been made at least the foundation of a study of the theory and development of Indian art." Mr. Havell, however, does not seem to regard this study of Indian literary records directly bearing on the arts as of much importance as a direct study of the surviving specimens of the arts themselves in the light of Indian ideals. In his *Introduction* to his latest work, *Ideals of Indian Art*, he writes: "Convinced as I am that the learning of the Orientalist, however profound and scientific it may be, is often most misleading in aesthetic criticism, it has always been my first endeavour, in the interpretation of Indian ideals, to obtain a direct insight into the artist's meaning, without relying on modern archaeological conclusions and without searching for the clue which may be found in the past." This apparently extreme attitude of Mr. Havell towards the use of indigenous literary records for an elucidation of the art-history of the country, is not shared, however, by others who approach the subject of Indian art from the same point of view as his. Dr. Coomaraswamy, in a review of Mr. Havell's new book in the pages of the *Hindustan Review* for February, 1912 (p. 188) remarks: "We recognize the necessity of his (Mr. Havell's) directly aesthetic, rather than literary enquiry into the 'Ideals of Indian Art'; but perhaps he goes too far in ignoring scholarship." So also, S. J. Akshaya Kumar Maitra, in a review of the same book in the pages of the Bengali monthly, *Sahitya*, (for Chaitra, 1318 B. S.) points out how the value of the indigenous literary tradition for purposes of elucidation of the development of Indian art-history is bound to be recognised sooner or later, much in the same way as the value of the traditional interpretation of the Vedas which was lightly set aside during the first period of Vedic research, has been steadily growing in recognition at the hands of Orientalists since the vigorous

note of warning sounded by the late Prof. Goldstucker. Mr. Havell's real position, however, does not seem to be so uncompromising as might appear at first sight, for as already noticed, on p. 116 of the same book he complains how the indigenous Silpa Sastras have been neglected by European scholars. (*Vide* paragraph 1 of this article).

III

The existing Indian literature bearing on the subject of the arts is of considerable extent. First of all, we have what are known as the *Silpa Sastras*, properly so called. Ram Raz, the distinguished Hindu scholar of South India

3. Ram Raz was a South Indian Scholar of versatile talents who lived in the first quarter of the 19th century. Born of poor parents at Tanjore in 1790, he had a chequered career during which he served as clerk and interpreter in several military establishments. His talents and learning were first brought to the notice of his superiors when about 1815, he prepared a translation from Marathi into English of a code of regulations drawn up by order of Tippu Sultan, the sovereign of Mysore, for the guidance of his revenue officers. He was then appointed head of the office of the College of Fort St. George, Madras and subsequently as "Head English Master" of that College. His talents received a further recognition when he was raised to the responsible position of Judge and Magistrate in Mysore. His treatise on *Hindu Architecture* was undertaken on the request of the Royal Asiatic Society at the request of one of its members, Richard Clarke, Esq., and was published after his death in 1834. Capt. Harkness, in his preface to the work wrote: "The introduction to the European world of an 'Essay on Hindu Architecture,' and by a *Hindu*, would seem to mark an epoch not only in the history of the science but also in that of the *Hindus* themselves. Their palaces, their temples, the stupendous pyramidal gateways leading to the latter, the colonnades and porticoes with which they are surrounded, some of a 'thousand pillars,' others equally remarkable for their elevation, richness, and grandeur of design, have for ages been the objects of admiration to the traveller in the East; and, though it had long been known proverbially that the *Hindus* possessed treatises on architecture of a very ancient date, prescribing the rules by which these edifices were constructed, it remained for the author of this essay to overcome the insurmountable obstacles to the substantiation of the fact, and to the communication of it to the European world in a well-known language of Europe."

In an article on Architecture in vol. II. of the Ninth Edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* we find the following reference to Ram Raz and his work on Hindu Architecture: "Hindu architecture has been divided into that of the Aryan or Sanscrit races of North India, that of the South or of the Tamil races, and that prevalent in the Panjab and Cashmere. Of the first and last we have comparatively little knowledge, but South Hindu work is treated at great length by Ram Raz, a native author. The accompanying view of the temple at Tanjore which measures 945 by 700 feet, is from his work on Hindu Architecture. The remains of the buildings are numerous, as the Tamil races were perhaps the greatest temple builders in the world; and the whole subject has been so well elucidated by the author last referred to, that its principles may be considered to be clearly ascertained. We are told by Ram Raz that many treatises on architecture, some say sixty-four, existed in India. The collection he calls the *Silpa Sastra*. Of these he mentions

and author of a most valuable work on the *Architecture of the Hindus* (1834), records the existence of a tradition among the artists that there have been no less than thirty-two principal, and as many subordinate works on *Silpa Sastra*. He himself obtained in Southern India fragmentary remains of no less than ten such treatises viz., the *Mānasāra*, *Māyāmata*, *Cāsyapa*, *Vayghānasa*, *Sacalādhicāra*, *Viśvakarmīya*, *Sanatkumārā*, *Sārasvatīyam*, *Pancharātram* and others. In Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Sanskrit Manuscripts, we find the names of a considerable number of treatises on the *Silpa Sastra*, most of them belonging to the South Indian Ms. libraries catalogued by Burnell and Oppert, as also to the Mackenzie Collection of Mss. These treatises are variously entitled as *Silpa Sāstras*, *Silpakalāpikā*, *Silpagantha*, *Silpalekha*, *Silpasarvasva-sangraha*, *Silparthasāra*, *Viśvakarmīya*, *Viśvakarma-prakasha* and so on. Dr. Coomaraswamy in his *Medieval Sinhalese Art* has made use of

that the most perfect is the *Manasara*, of which forty-one chapters were in his possession. He also cites several others, one of which he calls *Casyapa*. In an epitome of the *Manasara* he states that the first chapter treats of the various measures in use in the country; the second describes the *Sthapati*, or architect—the *Sutragraha*, or measurer, probably the surveyor or clerk of works, and then the various builders; while the others treat of pillars, bases and pedestals, halls, and the *vimana* or temple itself."

Mr. F. O. Oertel, in a paper read at the Fifteenth International Congress of Orientalists, held at Copenhagen in August, 1908, (and published in the *Indian Antiquary* for October, 1908) referred to Ram Raz's work in the following terms:—"The only work I know of which deals at all with the subject (of Indian *Silpa Sastras* with architecture) is a book on Hindu architecture by a native of India, Ram Raz by name, which was printed as long ago as 1830 or thereabout by the Oriental Translation Fund of the Royal Asiatic Society. This book has proved of some use and was the source from which I understand Fergusson and others derived their technical terms."

Dr. Coomaraswamy in his *Medieval Sinhalese Art* (pp. 162, 163) makes a few references to Ram Raz's work and says of it:—"This valuable book contains the fullest account in English of the *Silpa Sastras* (so far as they relate to architecture) and some discussion of their age."

One of the drawings in Ram Raz's work (an illustration of the Dravidian temple at Tiruvalur) has been reproduced by Fergusson in his standard work on Indian Architecture (1899 edition, published by John Murray, London, p. 346: *Drawing* No. 194: Also reproduced in the New Edition of the same work, 1910; vol. I. p. 367, *Drawing* No. 217).

4. नागहार; चक्राकार; वैष्णव; सकलाधिकार; विश्वकर्मा; वस्तुकार; शिल्पकार; पाथरात्रम् ।

5. शिल्पशास्त्र; शिल्पकलादीपिका; शिल्पसूत्र; शिल्पलेख; शिल्पसर्वस्वसंग्रह; शिल्प-
हार; विश्वकर्मा; विश्वकर्माप्रकाश ।

6. Vide pp. 111-113, 120-128 and 150-163 of the above book which is printed at the Essex House Press, Gloucestershire (1908).

three of the *Silpa Śāstras* found in Ceylon, viz., the *Sariputra*, *Mayasmata* and *Rupavaliya*. S. J. D. R. Bhandarkar, the distinguished Indian Orientalist in a paper on *Lakṣiṣa* (लक्ष्मि), a form of *Śiva*, quotes from another such unpublished work called *Visvakarmavataṛa-vastuśāstram*⁸, a Ms. of which he found in the Deccan College Library of Poona⁹. Another unpublished Ms. called *Visvakarmasīlpa*¹⁰ from the *Viśvakosa* Office Collection of Mss. is freely drawn upon by S. J. Nagendra Nath Vasu, M.R.A.S., the distinguished Bengali scholar in his recently published *Archæological Survey of Mayurbhanja*.¹¹ Lastly, S. J. Askhay Kumar Maitra himself, the writer of the letter to which we have already referred in the beginning of this article and which is published on another page, in a paper entitled "*Visvakarma*" contributed to the Bengali portion of the *Dacca Review and Sammilan* for January, 1911, dwelt on the importance of this branch of study and drew the attention of scholars to one of the *Silpa Śāstras*, "*Visvakarma-prakash*," which has been printed and published by Khemraj Srikrishnadas at Bombay, and by Kishanlall Dwarkaprasad at Mathura.

IV

A general idea of the nature of the subjects dealt with in these *Silpa Śāstras* may be formed from the following account of the contents of one of the most comprehensive of these, the *Mānasāra*, taken from the valuable work of Ram Raz. The book consists of fifty-eight chapters which deal among other things with the various measures used in architecture, sculpture, carpentry etc.; the different sites to be selected for building temples and houses; the mode of determining the different points of the compass; the several sorts of villages, towns and cities, with directions for building them; the different parts of an edifice, its ornaments, pedestals, bases, pillars, entablatures, etc.; the various sorts of temples, consisting of from one to twelve stories high; the construction of *mantapas* or porticoes, gates, and doorways, palaces, etc. etc.; the whole process in the construction of images of different divinities, Hindu, Buddhist and jama, and of other vehicles in which the gods are carried in procession. A considerable portion of the whole work is occupied with minute descriptions of the qualifications, moral, spiritual and intellectual, of a *Silpi*

7. शारिपुत्र ; मायामतः ; रूपवलीय ।

8. विश्वकर्मावतारवास्तु शास्त्रम् ।

9. Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1906-1907.

10. विश्वकर्माशिल्पः ।

11. Published by the Mayurbhanja State, 1911. Price Rupees Ten only. To be had of the author of Vishvakosh office, 20, Kantapukur Lane, Calcutta. The amount of historical materials that have been discovered by the author (who is the Archæologist of the Mayurbhanja State) and embodied in the work is truly astonishing. It is a mine of historical research dealing especially with Buddhism and Hinduism. Architectural monuments, sculptures and inscriptions. An historical work of such surpassing originality and interest and carried out on a quite comprehensive scale has not been published for many a day in India as the result of purely Indian scholarship and of purely Indian effort and initiative.

PART III
SECTION I: INDIAN EDUCATIONAL AND ALLIED MOVEMENTS
CORRESPONDENCE

GHORAMARA, RAJSHAH

February 5, 1912.

MY DEAR SATIS BABU,

Many thanks for the sample copies of your excellent magazine with which you have kindly honoured me. I venture to send you in return a few extracts from my note-book, and I shall be glad to learn what you think of them.

A book on Indian iconography, based entirely upon the specimens hitherto collected, and explained solely with the help of the texts lying scattered over numerous published and unpublished works in Sanskrit is a crying need. Have you any painstaking scholar to take up this study? Again thanking you for your kind ~~interest~~

I remain,
Ever sincerely yours,
(Sd.) AKSHAY K. MAITRA

SJ. SATISCHANDRA MUKERJI

~~INDIAN ART-IDEAL AND INDIAN IMAGE-MAKING :~~

~~VIEWS OF SRI AKSHAY KUMAR MAITRA~~

[NOTE BY THE EDITOR :—It is with the utmost pleasure that we desire to place before the readers of this Magazine this small but valuable contribution on the subject of *Indian art-ideal* as exemplified in Indian image-making from the pen of Sj. Akshay Kumar Maitra. Sj. Maitra is one of the very few men in Bengal who have distinguished themselves by their investigations into the subject of Bengal history and archæology. His suggestion as to the need for investigation into the subject of Indian literary texts has our unqualified support. Our standpoint is very well explained in an article entitled "Interpretation of Indian Art in the Light of Indian Literary Records: A New Branch of Study," appearing in Part I of this number.]

It is a happy sign of the times that many erudite scholars are trying to discover and study the art-ideals of ancient India. They have already discovered the self-evident fact that art in India has in all ages been the favourite handmaid of spiritual culture. The art-ideal

can, therefore, be studied with best advantage⁹ in Indian sacred images of old. I am glad to find, you are also taking a keen interest in the subject. Allow me, therefore, to point out that the art-ideal of Indian image-making lies hidden in the very name *Pratimā*, which signifies a sacred image. A *Pratimā* is not a likeness of anything visible. The word is derived from the root *ma* to measure, and so it denotes a thing, a visible representation, that supplies a measure to realise the invigible in a visible form.

Pratimās are divided into four classes according to the four methods, by which they are made. These methods are indicated by the text,—

“चित्रजा चैव खेया च सस्त्रीकीर्णा च पाकजा ।”

(i) A *chitrajā*-image is that which is produced by painting on canvas, walls, or vessels. This is indicated by the text,—

“पटे कुक्षी च पात्रे च चित्रजा प्रतिमासूयता ।”

(ii) A *lepyā*-image is that which is produced by “earths” (mud, plaster and the like) by the process of *lepa*, placing one layer over another. This is indicated by the text,—

“लेपा च पाथि खेया ।”

(iii) A *pākajā*-image is that which is produced by a melting-process of metals. It is called *lohajā* from the circumstances that in ancient times in India all metals were denoted by a generic name. This is indicated by the text,—

“लोहजा पाकजा मता ।”

(iv) A *Sastrotkirnā*-image is that which is chiselled out by means of instruments either in wood or in stone. This is indicated by the text,—

“सस्त्रीकीर्णा चैव खेया च सस्त्रीकीर्णा च कीर्तिता ।”

The texts, however, distinctly declare that although a *pratimā* may be made in any one of these four methods, yet the divinity (the invisible ideal) comes nearer our mental vision only when a tangible form is given to it by the method of *painting*; for in painting alone can we hope to bring out the grace, beauty, and bhava to perfection. This is indicated by the text—

“चित्रावभावाद्वाचिरे वसुमात् कटुं क्षिताः ।

अतः वाचिरेषामाति चित्रजासु जगार्दनः ।”

In this text lies hidden not only the art-ideal of image-making, but also a clue to the history of its gradual development. What the true history is of that development is, however, another story.

INDIAN ART EXHIBITIONS, 1908-1912 : A REMARKABLE RECORD OF PROGRESS

I

In a letter which appeared in the *Times* newspaper of London in its issue of 28th February, 1910 over the joint signature of the following thirteen distinguished artists and art-critics,* we note the following declaration of opinion on the subject of Indian art :—

"We the undersigned artists, critics, and students...find in the best art of India a lofty and adequate expression of the religious emotion of the people and of their deepest thoughts on the subject of the divine....We hold that the existence of a distinct, a potent, and a living tradition of art is a possession of priceless value to the Indian people, and one which they, and all who admire and respect their achievements in this field, ought to guard with the utmost reverence and love. While opposed to the mechanical stereotyping of particular traditional forms, we consider that it is only in organic development from the national art of the past that the path of true progress is to be found. Convinced that we here speak for a very large body of qualified European opinion, we wish to assure our brother artists and students in India that the school of national art in that country, which is still showing its vitality and its capacity for the interpretation of Indian life and thought, will never fail to command our admiration and sympathy so long as it remains true to itself. We trust that, while not disdaining to accept whatever can be wholesomely assimilated from foreign sources, it will jealously preserve the individual character which is an outgrowth of the history and physical conditions of the country as well as of those ancient and profound religious conceptions which are the glory of India and of all the Eastern world."

In the light of the above, the lay reader would be the better able to realise the importance and significance of the rise of the new school of Indian painting in Bengal, to which the *Indian Art Magazine* of this Journal, we have drawn the special attention of our readers. This Bengal school of painting, backed by the influential support of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta, seems as yet to be the only modern movement for the development of Indian Art which has been started in India on the lines indicated in the *Times* Letter from which we have just quoted. The progress of the movement deserves, therefore, to be watched with a jealous care and with anxious interest by the whole nation as offering a clue to a right solution of the problem how far modern educated India is capable of reaching to the heights of creative effort in respect of one branch of Indian national life.

* The names of the signatories are :—(1) Frederick Brown, (2) Walter Crane, (3) George Frampton, (4) Laurence Housman, (5) E. Lanteri, (6) W. R. Lethaby, (7) Halsey Ricardo, (8) T. W. Rolleston, (9) W. Rothenstein, (10) George W. Russell, (11) W. Reynolds Stephens, (12) Charles Waldstein, and (13) Emery Walker

We make no apology, therefore, for presenting before the reader some idea of the progress made by the movement during the period of time which has elapsed since its inception, such as could be obtained from even a survey of the five annual Exhibitions (1908-1912) which have been held by the Indian Society of Oriental Art in different parts of the country.

II

In the **First Exhibition** held in 1908 in the premises of the Government School of Art, Calcutta, the exhibits occupied two spacious rooms of the School building. The bulk of the paintings on show in one of those rooms, however, belonged to the permanent collection of old Indian paintings of the Mughal period, made by Mr. E. B. Havell, formerly Principal of the Calcutta Art School, for the Art Gallery attached to that institution. This collection was not included in the catalogue of the exhibition. The bulk of the special collection made for the exhibition and included in its catalogue were on show in the second room. Of these exhibits, the most remarkable were the paintings of Srijut Abanindro Nath Tagore and his school, then represented by only two of his disciples, Sj. Nanda Lal Bose, and the late Surendra Nath Ganguly, and by his colleague Sj. Iswari Prasad. These, however, occupied only one wall of the room, the other walls being taken up by old Japanese and Chinese Paintings and Colour Prints, and by such old Indian Paintings as were loaned to the Exhibition by private owners. Modern Indian paintings in the European style were also represented, notably by the Indian landscapes of Sj. Jamini Prakash Ganguly.

The **Second Exhibition** of the Society was held in 1909, when exhibited on loan a small collection of paintings of the new Bengal school at the Simla Fine Arts Exhibition of that year. Some forty pictures were exhibited, including a remarkable set of illustrations to the quatrains of Omar Khayyam, the mystic poet of Persia, by Sj. Abanindro Nath Tagore. These have since been incorporated in a special edition of Fitzgerald's translation of the *Rubaiyat*, issued by the *Pencil*, the foremost art journal of England. On the publication of this work, about a year ago, the London correspondent of the *Pioneer*, wrote to that journal an appreciative notice of the illustrations from which we quote the following: "Omar Khayyam has been illustrated by some of the best English artists, but these illustrations of Mr. Tagore's hold their own against any in the field. This is not only my opinion, but that of several critics, who all of them praise the charm of the Drawings, the spirituality of the interpretation, and the quite extraordinary subtlety and beauty of the colour. Above all, it is felt that the Indian artist is wise in seeking to build upon the art traditions of his own country, which are different from, but not inferior to our own....The work of those Indian artists who have so long slavishly imitated South Kensington methods have not stirred so much as a ripple in European art circles, but Mr. Abanindro Nath Tagore's work has been treated with the utmost reverence by our foremost art journal." Besides the work of Sj. Tagore, there were

among the exhibits some new work done by Sj. Nanda Lal Bose and the late Surendranath Ganguly, two of his earliest and best disciples. Only one new recruit was represented in the person of Muhammad Hakim Khan, who has since then produced some characteristic work in the old Mughal spirit.

The **Third Exhibition** held in 1910 in the rooms of the Calcutta Art School showed a great advance in the work of the new Bengal school. The paintings of this school which in 1908 occupied only one wall, now filled one whole room. Not only was there an advance in the quantity of the output, but the new school had been strengthened by the addition of several new recruits, thus ensuring the establishment of a living and continuous tradition. Notable among these new recruits were Sj. Asit Kumar Haldar, Sj. Venkatappa, Sj. Samarendranath Gupta, Sj. Ramswar Prasad and Sj. Narayan Prasad. Outside the school itself, we noticed the advent of two new artists, Sj. Ordhendra Coomar Ganguly and Sj. Priyanath Sinha, who are working more or less on the same lines as those of Mr. Tagore and his disciples.

The walls of the second room were mainly occupied by old Indian paintings of the Mughal period, selected from the collection of the Calcutta Art Gallery, as well as those lent from the collections of the Hon. Mr. (now Sir Archdale) Earle, Mr. Meugens, Sj. Gogonendro Nath Tagore, Mr. Arbuthnot, Mr. Justice Woodroffe (then President of the Society), Dr. Dennison Ross, Mr. N. Blount and Mr. Percy D. B. Owing to the abundance of Indian exhibits for that year, space could not be found for the Japanese and Chinese paintings which formed a principal feature of the Exhibition of 1908. But several paintings representing scenes from the *Ramayana* executed by the Japanese artist, Yoshio Katsuta, were exhibited by their owner, Sj. Gogonendro Nath Tagore. Another most interesting and remarkable feature of the third Exhibition (1910) was the collection of old Indian bronze and copper statues, Buddhist and Hindu, from Nepal, Tibet, and other parts of the country, representing the religious art of pre-Muhammadan India. Most of these belonged to the permanent collection made by Sir Vincent Havel for the Calcutta Art Gallery.

III

The **Fourth Exhibition** (1911) of the Society held at Allahabad was, if possible, on a still larger scale. The most remarkable feature of this exhibition was the representative character of the collection of **old Indian Paintings** of the Mughal Period, both Hindu and Muhammadan, selected by Dr. Coomaraswamy from numerous private and public collections scattered all over the country, and classified and arranged by him under the designations of several distinct and definite schools—viz., the Central Asian School, the Persian School, the Early Mughal (Indo-Persian) School, the Mughal School, the late Mughal School, the Rajput School (Jaipur), and the Rajput School (Kangra). The second important feature of the Exhibition at Allahabad was the small collection of coloured copies of the **wall-paintings** (frescoes) in the Buddhist caves at Ajanta, executed by Mrs. C. J. Herringham, a distinguished English artist,

Sj. Nanda Lal Bose, and Sj. Samarendra Nath Gupta of the Calcutta School, and by Syed Ahmad and Muhammad Fazluddin Kazi of Aurangabad, Deccan. The Ajanta frescoes are the earliest specimens of Indian painting that have come down to us and represent the old Indian school of religious painting which exercised a wide influence on the art of all the Buddhist countries of Asia, but notably of China, Japan and Ceylon. The third important feature of the Exhibition was the collection of modern Indian paintings of the Bengal school, which was also on an extensive scale and representative of all the different sides of the work of that school. The most remarkable of these, perhaps, were the Omar Khayyam pictures of Sj. A. N. Tagore, some of which were also exhibited in the previous year at Simla. A new and original style of work was represented by a number of remarkable Indian Ink Studies from the brush of Sj. Gogonendro Nath Tagore, elder brother of Sj. Abanindro Nath. Some of these were also exhibited at the two previous Exhibitions held at Simla and Calcutta, and they have always formed an interesting feature of the Exhibitions of the Society and have been admired by all connoisseurs. Since the Exhibition at Allahabad, the Indian Society of Oriental Art has published a portfolio consisting of platinotype reproductions of ten of these studies. The following extracts from an appreciative notice which appeared over the signature "E. T.," in *The Statesman* newspaper of Calcutta on the 10th September 1911, will give some idea of the artistic merit of these sketches :

"The studies are typical of scores of impressions that have come from time to time from Mr. Tagore's accomplished brush. Their spontaneity and fidelity of characterisation are so remarkable that one is tempted to speculate as to the artistic history of their author. . . . I believe that the very free and natural style observable in all this artist's drawings is not the result of the study of schools, methods or masters, but the outcome of a sincere and inherent love of drawing for itself, and more particularly brush drawing, combined with a remarkable facility of impression, the eye ~~and hand~~ spontaneously catching, and as it were momentary apprehending the character, the repose or motion of a figure, the gesture or expression that gives the dominating note to the whole drawing."

Another feature of this Exhibition was a small collection of modern and ancient sculpture. Some of the modern sculptures, in stone and metal, were the works of living Indian craftsmen of the traditionary Hindu school—Mali Ram of Jaipur, M. Malaiconnoo Achari of Madras and Maung San Pe of Burma—and are remarkable as showing the vitality of the old traditions and as hopeful indication of their continuation in the future. Another side of modern work in sculpture was represented by the copper plaques of Krishna subjects executed by Sj. Hiranmoy Roy Chaudhuri and Sj. Asit Kumar Haldar of Calcutta from the designs of Sj. Nanda Lal Bose of the Bengal school.

IV

The Fifth Exhibition (23rd Jan.—3rd Feb., 1912) was held in a large hall at Park Mansions, Park Street, Calcutta. The principal feature of this Exhibition

again was a number of copies from the frescoes at Ajanta executed by Mrs. Herringham, Sj. Nanda Lal Bose and Sj. Asit Kumar Halidar. Some of these had been exhibited at Allahabad also, but the number here exhibited was much larger, being more than double that exhibited at the former place. Besides, there was a set of drawings from the Ajanta Caves prepared by Sj. Surendra Nath Kar. A second and no less important feature of the fifth Exhibition was the evident influence of the Ajanta school which is to be noticed in some of the modern work executed by artists of the new Bengal school, in much of the late work of Sj. Nanda Lal Bose, and especially in the three large-sized paintings of scenes of rejoicing in "The Sea" "The Air" and "The Earth" designed by him and executed by himself in collaboration with Sj. Asit Kumar Halidar and Sj. Venkatappa. These three paintings, which were used for the interior decoration of His Majesty the King-Emperor's pavilion on the Calcutta Maidan, indicate a line of work, which, if persisted in, may lead to a splendid art of mural decoration for the civic halls and shrines of the future. The painted manuscript covers from Bengal, dating from the early 18th century were a third interesting feature of this Exhibition, as they point to the existence of an indigenous Bengali school of Hindu painting during Muhammadan times, which in its technique and methods may be regarded as a late survival of the old Hindu-Buddhist traditions of the art. A fourth feature of interest was furnished by the specimens of modern wood and stone carving executed severally by a Madrassi teacher of the Calcutta Art School, Mr. T. A. Achariya, by an Orissa craftsman of the old school, and by Mali Ram of Jaipur. Last of all, with regard to the modern paintings themselves, we note that not only was there a good amount of new work done by such well-known artists of the new school as Sj. Abanindro Nath Tagore, Sj. Nanda Lal Bose, Sj. Venkatappa, Sj. Asit Kumar Halidar, Sj. Samarendra Nath Gupta, and Sj. Ordhendra Coomar Ganguly, but that the present year has gained for the school some new recruits such as Sj. Kshitiendra Nath Mazumdar, Sj. Durgesh Chandra Sinha, and Sj. Sailendra Nath De, whose work shows great promise.

We have already referred to the strong influence of the Ajanta paintings which is to be noticed in much of the work exhibited by Sj. Nanda Lal Bose this year. Another important direction in which some of the artists of the new school seem to have made considerable progress during this year is the employment of the old Indian "tempera" process which makes it possible to set the pictures in a bright light and to introduce brilliant colour-schemes such as constitute the distinctive charm of the paintings of the Mughal and Rajput schools. Some of the "tempera" pictures exhibited have been painted with indigenous Indian colours prepared according to old Indian methods, and one of the most interesting exhibits at the fifth Exhibition consisted of a set of such Indian colours prepared by one of the younger artists of the school, Sj. Venkatappa, who belongs to a family of hereditary artists of Mysore.

Taking a general view of the fifth Exhibition as a whole, we find that though it was mainly intended as an Exhibition of the paintings of the modern Bengal school, and though, consequently the collection of old Indian paintings of the Mughal and Rajput schools was rather scanty when compared to those in the previous exhibitions of the Society, yet it may be taken to be fairly representative of the different periods and phases of Indian Painting, and of that life of the Indian people which is embodied therein. From this broad view-point in which the different periods and phases of Indian Art are regarded as the reflex and embodiment of the different periods and phases of Indian life, we may classify the paintings in the Exhibition of 1912 under the following several heads :

I. Old Indian Painting of the Hindu-Buddhist Period

Religious :—Copies of Wall-Paintings in the Buddhist monastery-caves at *Ajanta*, representing all sides of life, human and animal, but dominated by a religious ideal, by a feeling of devotion to the masterful personality of the Buddha.

II. Old Indian Painting of the Muhammadan Period

1. *Religious*—as developed in Hindu courts and pilgrim-centres :—

- (a) Rajput Schools (Jaipur and Kanur)
- (b) Bengal school.
- (c) Indo-Mughal school.

The first two are purely indigenous, being continuations of the old art of pre-Muhammadan India, while the third took its rise at and near the Mughal courts, and is represented by pictures of Hindu religious subjects executed in a mixed style, partly Rajput, partly Mughal. The subjects are either epic, mythological or lyric, but they mainly represent the *Bhakti* movements of Mediæval India, and centre round the traditions of Sree Krishna, Sree Ramchandra, and Siva.

2. *Secular*—as developed in the Mughal and Rajput courts, under royal and aristocratic patronage, and representing the incidents of court life, romantic love scenes, delicious landscapes, portraits of individuals, and so on.

- (a) Mughal schools—Delhi, Agra, Lucknow &c.
- (b) Rajput schools—Kangra Valley, Jaipur &c.

III. Modern Indian Painting

The only important work now produced is by the Bengal school of artists led by S. J. Abanindranath Tagore. It is *national* and *synthetic*, seeking to draw inspiration from and represent *the whole of Indian life*, past and present, restoring the idealism of the past and idealising and interpreting the sounder elements in present-day life. The paintings of the Bengal school of artists may be grouped under five different heads as follows :—

1. *Epic and Mythology* :—e.g., ‘Scenes from the Ramayana,’ ‘Ekalavya,’ ‘Harishchandra,’ ‘Krishna the Divine charioteer,’ ‘Krishna and Radha,’

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and "Mahadeva" by Sj. Nanda Lal Bose; "Hara-Parvati" by Sj. Abanindro Nath Tagore; "Nataraja" by Sj. Venkatappa; "Dancing Ganesh" by Sj. Asit Kumar Haldar.

2. *History and Literary Tradition, Hindu and Musalman*:—e.g., "Queen of Asoka" by Sj. Abanindro Nath Tagore; "Embassy at the Court of Bahadur Shah", and "Illustrations from Masnavi" by Md. Hakim M. Khan; "The Bodhi-tree", "Rehula", and "Princess Ratnavali" by Sj. Khitindra Nath Majumdar; "Illustrations from Omar Khayyam" by Sj. Samarendranath Gupta; "Pratap Sing" by Sj. Venkatappa; and "Prithiraj, the last Hindu King of Delhi" by Sj. Rameswar Prasad.

3. *Idealisation of the duties and relations, the scenes and incidents of common life* — e.g., "Kabuliwallah" and "The Dak-runner" by Sj. Nanda Lal Bose; "The Mother" by Sj. Asit Kumar Haldar; "The Mother" by Sj. Priyanath Sinha; "A Puri Fisher girl" by Sj. Abanindro Nath Tagore; "Waiting" by Md. Hakim M. Khan.

4. *Interpretation of Custom and Ritual* — e.g., "Shashti Puja", and "Sati" by Sj. Nanda Lal Bose, "Offered to the Gods" by Sj. Abanindro Nath Tagore, "Floating the Fateful Lamp" by Sj. Samarendranath Gupta.

5. *Interpretation of moods of the Mind*:—e.g., "At the Window" by Sj. Asit Kumar Haldar; "At the Window" by Sj. Durgesh Chandra Sinha; "A Girl Musing" by Sj. Venkatappa.

FOUNDATION OF A TEACHING AND RESIDENTIAL UNIVERSITY : SUGGESTED LINES OF PROCEDURE

I

The Education Department of the Government of India has taken upon itself a great and momentous task in seeking to formulate and carry through a scheme of higher education which shall in all essential respects be a departure from the lines hitherto pursued by the existing Indian Universities. For, it has been declared by the highest authority that the Dacca University would be the "first teaching and residential university of its kind in India;" and that further that "the Government of India were and are convinced that the more such teaching and residential universities are multiplied and distributed over India, the better it will be for the cause of Indian education and for the development of the moral character no less than of the intellectual ability of the students." We have here quoted the language used by His Excellency the Viceroy in his memorable Reply to an address presented by a Deputation of Bengal leaders on 16th February last, to which we have referred in considerable detail in our article entitled "The Beginnings of a Great Educational Departure: The Proposed University at Dacca," which appeared in the March, 1912 issue of this Journal. Since then at the Convocation of the Calcutta University held on 16th March, 1912, His Excellency as Chancellor, by words which could not be misunderstood, has made it plain that the policy

on which the Government has set its heart is one of the *gradual abandonment of the federal university system*, which is the system at present obtaining. In our March article we said in so many words—and it was the main thesis of our argument—that it was clear from a comprehensive survey of facts that the ultimate objective of the Government of India in its Education Department was the replacement in the first instance of the existing federal and examining universities by teaching and residential ones, to be followed in due time by a multiplication of the new type of University throughout India. The pronouncement made by the Chancellor in his Convocation Speech of 16th March, 1912 thus confirms the view we put forward in our previous article on this subject. For observed His Excellency:—"Impressed by the considerations which are not peculiar to the Calcutta University, and remembering the stirring words which His Imperial Majesty addressed to the members of our Senate, the Government of India have decided to make a solid advance in the direction of teaching and residential universities...I hope that the liberality of Government will be supplemented by private liberality, and **that before many years have passed efficient teaching universities will take the place of the examining and federal universities which we have to-day.** I also hope, ^{as I have already said,} **that teaching and residential universities may be multiplied throughout India,** for I believe that they will do great things for the improvement of higher education."

II

But if the ideal which the Government of India has set before itself is to be carried out with any real chance of success, it is clear that there should be no yielding on any essential matter, or, indeed on any matter of any importance. We are decidedly of opinion that the difficulties which are calculated to thwart the Government's intentions are to be sought primarily in connexion with the methods which may be devised to carry out the ~~object~~ which the Government have in view. And, first of all, it is clear that the scheme of a teaching and residential university, say at Dacca,—if it is really to ~~succeed~~ ^{succeed} and impress itself effectively on the minds and imaginations of the people—should be presented before them in all its purity and brightness. A mixing up of two opposite schemes—like those of a teaching and residential university on the one hand, and of an examining and federal university on the other,—a hybrid combination of two different and somewhat opposed standards and ideals—if such, indeed, was ever contemplated as the ~~form~~ ^{form} in which the proposed University at Dacca was to take shape—such a combination of ideals could never appeal to the people as the genuine type of a university which is to revolutionise the future of higher education in this country. "The modern Universities of Europe have well been described as the nurseries and workshops of intellectual life. We want all that this description implies in India at the present time,"—we are quoting from Lord Hardinge's ¹⁹⁰⁵ Convocation Address. And this it would not be possible unless, in the first place, the constituent colleges of a University

are located at a given centre,—at a given University town. The federal University is composed of colleges located at different centres throughout a large territory, and is *per force* restricted to the discharge of very modest duties. Its main function is by means of examinations and the award of Degrees based on the results of such examinations to help in fostering emulation among the people to acquire a given type of knowledge. Its chief work undoubtedly is to help, so far as may be, in the diffusion of existing knowledge among a people. A federal University, in short, is precluded by the very conditions of its existence from becoming a common centre of collective intellectual activity, a centre of creative thought. Thus, the existing federal Universities of India notwithstanding that they boast of affiliated colleges are more or less examining Universities—a circumstance which takes away from their value; and hence the need for having teaching and residential universities proper. But if this be so, it must be considered that notwithstanding the rule that the colleges sending up students for university examinations must be affiliated institutions, *the promotion of a centre of intellectual and social life*, the promotion of a common *University life*, in fact, among the colleges has become very difficult of attainment by reason of the whole body of affiliated colleges not being gathered together in a given University town round the University as at Oxford and Cambridge, or in the older seats of Hindu learning in days gone by. That is where the essential weakness of the existing universities lies; and it shows also how a teaching and residential university differs from other universities, which, while imposing rules of affiliation on its colleges are not in a position to develop a centre of corporate intellectual life by reason of those colleges not being all gathered together round the Alma Mater at a given University town. The ideal and spirit of a teaching and residential University is that of a community of learned men engaged in the pursuit of learning and investigation and in close association with pupils fired like the teachers with similar aspirations. When the constituent colleges of a University are located in different and distant centres they would *either* have to develop themselves as independent centres of corporate intellectual life, as independent teaching and residential universities, in short; *or*, they would have to make it the *primary* business of their lives to prepare students, under such conditions as may be laid down, for examination by an examining and federal university.

III

There is considerable apprehension among many people in India that forces are at work to bring pressure upon the Government to depart from the strict lines of a teaching and residential university through the introduction of a sort of hybrid combination of the federal and the teaching types in the constitution of the Dacca University. There is an apprehension that the ideal held forth by His Excellency the Viceroy both in his Reply to the Calcutta Deputationists (16th February, 1912) and at his Convocation Address (16th March, 1912), of a teaching and residential university, which shall supplant and supersede the existing type of federal universities in India, may under pressure be modified

by the responsible authorities. Already in an article in the *Times* newspaper of London (February 21, 1912), which was based upon the Viceroy's pronouncement of the 16th of the same month, we note that the plea is being put forward that "it is impossible in the conditions of India where provinces are so large for the universities to become entirely similar in character to those of Oxford and Cambridge, gathering their students to one educational centre and giving them the benefits of corporate life." And following on that we read :—"The first step in the policy of the Government is already being taken by the arrangements in progress for creating a University at Dacca which will be residential so far as the local arts colleges are concerned and to which will be affiliated the arts colleges of Barisal, Comilla, Pabna, Mymensingh, Rajshahi, Tangall, and Cooch Behar—possibly indeed those of Gauhati and Sylhet in Assam." The declarations and suggestions made by the London *Times* undoubtedly go to show that considerable pressure is likely to be brought upon the Government in order that the views and principles enunciated in the Viceroy's two pronouncements may not be given full effect to. The idea is that the Dacca University when it would take shape should be only an improved edition of a federal university—that which the Calcutta University already is or would soon be in the course of the next two or three years. If this, indeed, should be the ultimate outcome of the efforts of the Department of Education, then the Viceroy's declaration in his Calcutta Convocation Address that "before many years have passed efficient teaching universities will take the place of the examining and federal universities which we have to-day", will have been made in vain. If the efforts of the Education Department of the Government of India were merely to issue in the establishment of only an improved type of federal universities, it would be hardly in agreement with the policy laid down in the Viceroy's two notable utterances to which we have already referred ; for the moment you affiliate colleges removed from the centre of corporate intellectual life—the university town—the corporate character of the University, both on its social and intellectual sides, will have been lost, the element of co-operation for a common, collective end will have been impaired and the ideal of a higher education, such as a teaching university is intended to foster will have been sacrificed to interests which are not exactly academic and educational. The very last sentences of His Excellency the Viceroy's memorable Reply to the Calcutta Deputation on the subject of the proposed Dacca University in which he asks for the people's co-operation for the furtherance of the Government's new educational policy, the starting of teaching universities in India to supplant and supersede the existing federal ones—run as follows :—"I wish to impress on you the greatness of the work in which we are called on to co-operate. I am hopeful that the large issues of educational policy on which the future of India so greatly depends will be viewed with a wide outlook and apart from personal or political interests." The introduction of teaching universities in India and the gradual replacement of the existing federal universities by teaching ones no doubt constitute issues of educational policy of a

far-reaching character fraught with potentialities of the highest good to India; but in no way could we persuade ourselves to regard the establishment of an additional federal university or additional federal universities with merely improved teaching features, as constituting an abiding landmark in the educational history of the country under British regime.

"A University is not primarily a place, or a ground of buildings, or a board of examiners. A University is first of all a corporate body of men associated together for a definite purpose, and united by a common aim—a University is, or should be a guild of learners." (—From a Speech by Prof. C. Lloyd Morgan, F.R.S., on *The University of Bristol*, at the Tenth Annual Dinner of the University College Society, Bristol). And the same authority goes on to observe:—"A University is, or should be a guild of learners. I do not say a guild of so-called learned folk. I trust there will be learned folk in our guild, but though learned men and wise men and men of character help to make a University, they do not constitute the University, which as a guild of learners is founded on a broader basis. Nor do the teachers constitute a University, though they too help to make a University of the first rank. *The learners constitute the University and when the teachers cease to be learners, they ought also to cease to be teachers.* If then the University as a corporate body is a guild of learners, and its buildings a temple of learning, all should be welcome in the University who desire to learn, and who have given evidence of adequate breadth of previous education and the requisite ability to learn at the relatively high level which ought to characterise University work. That is the real and the only value of the Matriculation test. Each stage of a degree should guarantee not only a higher level of attainment, but also a further ability to learn and utilise what has already been learnt. A University is a guild of learners united together in a corporation in which all sources of knowledge and all aids to learning should be accessible to all comers without distinction of creed and country, riches or poverty. But the University is not and cannot be a place for all, it must be a place for the selected few, those only who are capable and willing to do University work. What we shall have to secure is that there shall be equal opportunities for all, without distinction of riches or poverty."

The above extracts are perhaps too long; but it is necessary to clear up misunderstandings and explain what a true teaching University is like. It would be impossible to formulate a scheme of a true teaching University—a closely associated community of people engaged in learning and increasing the bounds of knowledge, without taking care that the federal element is wholly and irrevocably eliminated in any consideration of such a scheme. We regard it as a matter of the first-rate importance, a matter essential to the successful inauguration of a teaching and residential University in India, that it should be once for all accepted both by Government and the people that the affiliation of residential institutions removed from the centre of University life introduces an element which is wholly alien and opposed to the genius and principle of a teaching University, and that consequently such affiliation of

outside colleges to a teaching University could in no way be represented or defended as a sort of a compromise, or as a sort of approximation to the ideal of a teaching university on the ground, as the *London Times* puts it, that in India "*the provinces are so large.*" Our contention is that a teaching University has properly no territorial jurisdiction; it invites and welcomes without distinction of creed or country "all learners capable and willing to do university work," as Professor Lloyd Morgan puts it, and therefore the question of the largeness or smallness of the geographical area of the province within which the teaching University may be situated—such as is implied in the suggestions of the *Times* article quoted above—does not really arise. Such a question no doubt legitimately arises in the case of a federal university, and it may be necessary from time to time to alter or reduce the territorial limits of such university, in view of the growth in the number of colleges affiliated to it. If the proposed University at Dacca has to be founded on a federal basis, then, no doubt, it would be necessary to fix a territorial jurisdiction, it being made compulsory on all colleges within that jurisdiction to seek affiliation to it. If however, it is to be a teaching University proper, the condition that is primarily applicable is that all colleges seeking affiliation to it must be so circumstanced as to be capable of sharing in a common, corporate, university life,—the fact of their being situated within a given geographical area, e.g., within the limits of a particular province, having no manner of application.

IV

It must be admitted, however, that the introduction of a system of teaching universities in India in supersession of the existing federal system is beset with enormous difficulties in the peculiar conditions under which the British administration is carried on. For, there is a perpetual temptation on the part of the Administration to make universities in India an adjunct of the administrative machinery; and where such is the case and the temptation is not resolutely attempted to be overcome, the tender plant of a teaching university, which requires delicate handling and assiduous care, at least in the initial stages of its existence, is not likely to take root on Indian soil. A federal and examining university, however, lends itself or could be made to lend itself very readily to the purposes of the Civil Administration, directly subserving its needs and helping to improve the efficiency of its organisation. The teaching university, on the contrary, works on a far higher plane, realising an independent life, and is a far more efficient instrument of the general good of Society, and in so far is an object of tender regard and solicitude to the Government; but it is never intended to be or regarded as an instrument or machinery for the more effective working of the civil administration of a country. Now, if we go back to the early history of the genesis of the existing federal University at Calcutta, we find that the circumstances which led to its establishment were primarily connected with the urgent needs of the administration of the country. No doubt the Act of Incorporation of the University (1857) declares in its Preamble that the establishment of the University was due to a desire for "the better encouragement

of Her Majesty's subjects in the pursuit of a regular and liberal course of education;" but we require the help of still earlier documents to enable us to discover the root facts applicable to the present case. Thus, beginning with the year 1830, we find the educational policy of the Government of the day summed up by the following words of a Despatch from the Court of Directors of the E. I. Company to the Governor-General (29th September, 1830):—"There is no point of view in which we look with greater interest at the exertions you are now making for the instruction of the natives than as being calculated to raise up a class of persons qualified by their intelligence and morality, for high employments in the Civil Administration of India." Then, again, in the Annual Report (1844-1845) of the Council of Education, Calcutta,—an official body appointed by the Government, and the immediate predecessor, of the University of Calcutta,—we read:—"The absence of an efficient mode for affording an extended professional education to our most advanced students is beginning to be severely felt and to force itself upon our attention. The establishment of a University with Faculties of Law, Arts and Civil Engineering could supply this desideratum and fit our more proficient pupils for devoting themselves to the pursuit of learned and practical professions in this country." The recommendations made in the Report go to establish that the need for the foundation of a University in Calcutta was urgently felt on the score of supplying the State with a class of educated young men capable, to quote again the words of the Report, of "holding the higher offices open to natives after due qualification and of commencing the practical pursuit of the learned professions;" and the Council of Education at Calcutta categorically lays down and recommends that "the only means of *accomplishing this great object* is by the establishment of a central University armed with the power of granting Degrees in Arts, Science, Law, Medicine and Civil Engineering."

Then coming to Sir Charles Wood's famous Educational Despatch of 1854 which, among other things, sanctioned the establishment of the Universities of Calcutta and Bombay, we find the following observations:—"We have always been of opinion that the spread of education will produce a greater efficiency in all branches of administration by enabling you to obtain

1. We have to mention here that in an earlier Despatch dated 5th September, 1827, the same point of view was urged by the Court of Directors on the Government. The third paragraph of the famous Educational Despatch of 1854 begins by referring to this document and partly quotes from it. In that paragraph Sir Charles Wood observes as follows:—"We have always looked upon the encouragement of education as *peculiarly* important, because calculated "not only to produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages, and so to supply you with servants to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust" in India, where the well-being of the people is so intimately connected with the truthfulness and ability of officers of every grade in all departments of the State."

2. This fact is brought out in Sections 24 and 25 of the Educational Despatch of 1854.

the services of intelligent and trustworthy persons in every department of Government; and, on the other hand, we believe that the numerous vacancies of different kinds, which have constantly to be filled up, may afford a great stimulus to education." (Section 72 of the Despatch of 1854). And again,—“We perceive with much satisfaction that a very considerable number of educated men have been employed under Government of late years; and we understand that it is not so much the want of Government employment as the want of properly qualified persons to be employed by Government which is felt at the present time in many parts of India.” (Section 73). Then, referring to the Government of India's Resolution of 18th October, 1844, providing for the annual submission to Government of lists of meritorious students, the Despatch goes on to declare :—“The necessity for any such lists will be done away with by the establishment of Universities, as the acquisition of a Degree, and still more the attainment of University distinctions will bring highly educated young men under the notice of the Government.”³ The celebrated Resolution of October, 1844, to which we have just referred, was issued during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Hardinge, grandfather of our present Viceroy. The most important portions of it are :—“The Governor-General having taken into his consideration the existing state of education in Bengal and being of opinion that it is highly desirable to afford it every reasonable encouragement by holding out to those who have taken advantage of the opportunity of instruction afforded to them, a fair prospect of employment in the public service and thereby not only to reward individual merit, but to enable the State to profit as largely and as early as possible by the result of the measures adopted of late years for the instruction of the people, has resolved that in every possible case a preference shall be given in the selection of candidates for public employment to those who have been educated in the institutions

3. In a Parliamentary Blue Book, 1870, is to be found a brief summary of this Despatch of 1854 from the pen of the Secretary for the Home Department of the Government of India, which was prepared by Authority for the Houses of Parliament. The following concluding sentences of this summary in the Parliamentary Blue Book referred to above (p.7) emphasise the object for which the Indian Universities were brought into existence, namely, to serve as part of the machinery of the civil administration of this country :—

“To complete the system in each presidency, a university is to be established, on the model of the London University, at each of the three presidency towns. *These universities are not to be themselves places of education, but they are to test the value of the education given elsewhere; they are to pass every student of ordinary ability who has fairly profited by the curriculum of school and college study which he has passed through, the standard required being such as to command respect without discouraging the efforts of deserving students. Education is to be aided and supported by the principal officials in every district, and is to receive, besides, the direct encouragement of the State by the opening of Government appointments to those who have received a good education, irrespective of the place or manner in which it may have been acquired; and in the lower situations, by preferring a man who can read and write, and is equally eligible in other respects, to one who cannot.*”

thus established and especially to those who have distinguished themselves therein by a more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment." And the Governor-General accordingly directed the preparation of "annual returns of meritorious students" to be submitted to the Council of Education and "to be circulated to the heads of all Government offices both in and out of Calcutta with instructions to omit no opportunity of providing for, and advancing the candidates thus presented to their notice and in filling up every situation of whatever grade in their gift, to show them an invariable preference over others not possessed of superior qualifications." And the principle had to be adhered to "even in the selection of persons to fill the lowest offices under the Government."

We have taken pains to enter into a history of the circumstances that led up to the foundation of the federal and examining University at Calcutta, because it goes to show that the existing federal universities of this country were brought into being directly in the interests of the Civil Administration. And so the main and avowed trend of their activities, due to the circumstance just brought out, has been in the direction of producing men who should be well fitted to help the Government in the work of administration. And it is admitted that they have abundantly realised the intentions of the authorities; but "they have contributed," as Vice-chancellor Sir Ashutosh Mukerji, Kt. C.S.I., points out in his recent Convocation Address, "exceedingly little towards the advance and increase of knowledge." And the consequence has been, to use the language of the same high authority, that "at present we have fallen woefully behind in the great intellectual competition of the nations of the world; and those institutions (the existing Indian Universities) on which mainly devolves the task of promoting the intellectual rebirth and development of the country have never realised the full extent of their responsibilities." This sharp contrast brought out above between a federal and examining university like the one existing at Calcutta, and a true teaching and residential university, reveals at a glance the fundamental antagonism that exists between the two types of institutions; and, if this be so, undoubtedly there is need for the exercise of the greatest caution and circumspection in framing the constitution of what according to His Excellency the Viceroy's pronouncement made on 16th February, 1912 is to be the "first teaching and residential university of its kind in India."

V

We have found that the federal universities in India have been built up on a particular footing, namely, that of an intimate association with the Civil Administration, supplying the latter with educated Indians for its employment and also with educated members to fill the several learned professions. Here, then, is the secret of the extraordinary success and the extraordinary failure of the existing federal universities in India—their success when they are regarded as parts of the country's administrative machinery,—their failure in relation to the purposes of a true university, namely, to help in the advance and increase of

knowledge. "The time has now come," declares Vice-chancellor Sir Ashutosh Mukerji with no little emphasis, "to thoroughly diagnose this vital defect, and the result of the diagnosis requires to be declared in unambiguous terms by those to whom the guidance of the existing universities is entrusted." We have made our humble essay in this direction and have come to the conclusion that if the teaching universities should have to be inaugurated, as has apparently been decided upon by the responsible authorities, and if they must grow as teaching universities, it would be necessary for the Government to forego the temptation of regarding them merely as eligible fields for the recruitment of officials, or merely as so many feeders to the several learned professions. The future teaching University in India, in fact, must not be allowed to grow up on any other basis than that for which all teaching Universities exist or have existed in civilised countries, namely, as a guild of learners, workers, and investigators,—as nurseries and workshops of the highest intellectual life of the people.

Notwithstanding all this if the highest authorities should eventually be led to accept the suggestion that has been put forward that outside residential colleges in Eastern Bengal should be affiliated to the Teaching University at Dacca, we should take it that in the constitution of that University the underlying principles of the Indian federal Universities are not to be departed from, but, on the contrary, that aspect of the existing federal universities in India which correlates them to the civil administration of the country and which may be said to constitute their vital part is going to be retained. Only on some such hypothesis could one explain why outside colleges within the territorial limits of East Bengal, while forming no real part of the teaching University at Dacca, should have to be tacked on to it through the make-believe of a formal affiliation. Our objection to such procedure would be that nothing is to be gained thereby, but much would assuredly be lost, for the "outside colleges" in Eastern Bengal are already affiliated to the federal and examining University at Calcutta, which is an adjunct of the administration in the sense above explained. The need for a closer supervision of the "outside colleges" in Eastern Bengal by an East Bengal University, may also be admitted, but it would never be expedient to associate two fundamentally opposed ideals—those of a teaching and a federal university,—in the new creation at Dacca. It would be a hybrid combination and if it is at all brought into being, the need would arise of pursuing two antagonistic ideals under the auspices of the same University—namely, of holding up the ideal of a common collective intellectual and social life,—of higher intellectual life and labour for the advancement and increase of knowledge, for one part of the organisation,—and for the other part, the inferior ideal of the acquisition of knowledge from motives of personal worldly gain and benefit, an ideal which is already being furthered by the existing federal institutions. Therefore, if it should be ultimately decided by the Home Government or accepted as a principle that in the circumstances of India, outside residential colleges may be affiliated to a teaching

University (whether located at Aligarh, Benares or Dacca), the future of teaching Universities in India would not seem in our eyes to be particularly hopeful. Lord Hardinge has told us that "the Government of India have decided to make a solid advance in the direction of teaching and residential universities.... And that before many years have passed efficient teaching Universities will take the place of the examining and federal Universities;" and His Excellency's further hope is that the "teaching and residential Universities may be multiplied throughout India, for they will do great things for the improvement of higher education." The policy enunciated in the foregoing pronouncement is a bold one and is fraught with potentialities of the highest good to the country; but it has been shown that the objects in view may be sacrificed or impaired by the adoption of inappropriate or ill-adjusted means. Our submission is that the successful inauguration and the future growth of teaching universities in India would not be practicable unless due weight be given to the following considerations:

(1). In the teaching university all the constituent colleges should be located in a given university town.

(2). The primary work of the teaching university must be the acquisition of knowledge or its dissemination, but its advancement and increase by means of original work and investigation; and the training to be imparted by such university must accordingly be definitely directed towards that primary end. It would follow as a consequence that such training would have no direct reference to the requirements of Government as an employer of educated labour in its various offices and departments; and furthermore such training should not be recognised as a passport to the learned professions.

(3). The need for supplying educated labour for the civil administration of the country is admitted; but nowhere else in the civilised world, so far as we are aware, are *teaching universities* regarded as appropriate instruments at the hands of the Administration to help in the satisfaction of such need.

(4). In a teaching university the standard of Matriculation must be high, higher than in the federal university, for the underlying ideal of a teaching university is primarily to help in the advancement and increase of knowledge,—the discovery of truth by investigation and original work. And with that end, the suggestion is made that no candidate for admission into the teaching university be taken who has not undergone a previous course of training equivalent to the Intermediate Examination of the existing federal universities.

(5). It would be necessary to reserve a considerable number of scholarships and stipends of sufficient value for scholars of real merit, whose love of and devotion to university work is proved and recognised.

(6). The graduates who will have received a regular course of training at a given teaching university, will have either to be absorbed by that university, or have to be drafted on to other and new teaching universities, or teaching institutions with similar objects started elsewhere. It would undoubtedly be to the interest of Government, looked at from the larger standpoint of the growth of higher life and thought in the country, to endow teaching universities and endow

also scholars turned out by such universities (so that they may act as centres of higher study and work), where they should choose to work independently. The first step in the direction has already been taken by the Government by recognising all existing and future Mahamahopadhyas and Shamsul-ulemas, as deserving of Government patronage and support, and by their assigning a yearly stipend to every holder of either of the above titles as a mark of appreciation of devotion to learning pursued with no ulterior worldly end. The conditions of such grant may, indeed, in future, be regulated with a more direct object to the end in view; but the principle of the grant having been admitted, the graduates of future teaching universities, in case they should choose to work independently and not allow themselves to be absorbed by a teaching university, may be similarly endowed.

(7). The process of conversion of the existing federal universities into teaching ones would be expedited if the Government should accept the system followed in the case of the Oxford and the Cambridge Universities whose Degree of a B. C. L., or a D. C. L., for instance, is no passport to the learned profession of the Law. For, the services and the professions are recruited in England not through the doors of the universities, but with the help of different types of institutions, like the Inns of Court for instance, which exist for the specific purpose of training candidates for admission to the Bar. In France, the Government have independent institutions of their own for the training of candidates for Government employment and for admission into the learned professions. In this country in the pre-University days there were in some cases institutions organised by the Government for the definite purpose of training students for employment in particular Departments. Take, for instance, the case of the still existing Engineering College at Roorkee established in 1847, by the Government of the former N. W. Provinces, Roorkee being at the time the headquarters of the officers employed in the construction of the Ganges Canal, who stood in urgent need of a subordinate class of Civil Engineers to be employed in the works.^c It appears, therefore, that in future, *independent* means will have to be organised by the Government for the recruitment of its officials and for the filling in of the learned and the practical professions, if before many years have passed efficient teaching universities should take the place of the examining and federal universities which we have to-day, and if teaching and residential universities should have to be multiplied throughout India.

VI

Since the above was in type, an important statement relating to the proposed Dacca University was made by the Hon'ble Babu Bhupendra

* The Ganges Canal was designed for irrigating a large tract of country between the Ganges and the Jumna, and in 1847, it having been determined to prosecute the construction of the Canal with vigour, advantage was taken of the opportunity to propose the establishment of a College at Roorkee, the headquarters of the officers employed on the Canal.

Nath Basu in the course of a Speech delivered at the last session of the Imperial Legislative Council at Calcutta on 25th March, 1912; and in the Speech of His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Hardinge, which closed the proceedings of the session, there was also a reference to the Dacca University, which was a confirmation of the Hon'ble Mr. Basu's statement. It is clear from these two statements that so far as His Excellency, Lord Hardinge, and the present intentions of the Government are concerned, there is not much that should raise any alarm in the public mind as to the ultimate scope of the proposed University at Dacca. But, as we have said already, there is a section of influential opinion—and the considerations submitted in the present article are directed to combat such opinion—which would be pleased if the Government could be persuaded to depart from the strict lines of a teaching and residential university in their framing of the constitution of the proposed Dacca University. With these preliminary observations, we proceed to reproduce certain extracts from the Speeches of the Hon'ble Mr. Basu and His Excellency the Viceroy which bear directly upon the present question.

Extracts from the Hon'ble Babu B. N. Basu's Speech

"My Lord, I cannot pass from this question of the readjustment of my province without referring to some incidental matters connected with it. It has been said that Your Excellency's scheme about the proposed Dacca University will be likely to reproduce conditions against which the people of Bengal fought with such desperate and passionate energy; it would be a pity, indeed, if it did so. *My Lord, I hope I betray no confidence when I say that Your Excellency has been pleased to give us the assurance that no such thing shall happen, that the fear of a dialectic difference in Bengal being created need not be entertained and that the proposed University at Dacca would only embrace colleges within its Municipal limits, that it will be only a teaching university*, and that in matters of provincial appointments to the public service no question will arise, either in East or West Bengal, as between the claims of the Dacca and the Calcutta Universities. These assurances of Your Excellency when widely known will dissipate the fears that were entertained at one time and the latest pronouncement that nothing will be done until the Government of Bengal has been consulted will remove any lingering doubts that still hover round the appointment of a separate educational officer."

Extract from the Speech of His Excellency the Viceroy

"There is only one point in other matters to which I would like to draw attention, and that is that, although I am determined to permit

no measure in connection with the Dacca University that might be interpreted as a measure of partition, and although Mr. Basu has given expression to my own personal views, we have yet to know the view of the new Governor of Bengal on questions of detail, and still more of the Secretary of State."

SECTION II: STUDENTS' COLUMN

TEMPLES AND RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS OF TRAVANCORE

The number of Hindu temples in Travancore is estimated to be nearly 4000; the greater part of them, however, are but small pagodas and very many are fast going to decay. Upwards of 300 temples are consecrated to the worship of the superior deities, Vishnu and Siva; a considerable number are dedicated to Bhagavathy, the Bhadrakaly (**भद्रकाली**) of the Eastern Coast; while others, belonging to the lower orders, are dedicated to local or sylvan deities that are supposed to preside over the business of rural life.

Padmanathaswamy or Vishnu is regarded as the patron deity of Travancore. His principal shrine, Anantha-Sayanam, is at Trivandrum, where His worship is performed with great lavishness and splendour. Among other temples of renown, that of Ayappan at Sowrymalay requires particular mention. Vast numbers of people flock to this temple at the time of the festival in January, to present their vows and offerings, notwithstanding the fact that it is situated in the wildest part of the country and is not therefore easily accessible. Besides these temples of local fame, Travancore boasts of one most sacred spot of all-India fame,—the Kanya-Kumari. The place is visited by the Hindu pilgrims not merely of Travancore but of the whole of India.

The ceremonies at the temples of Siva and Vishnu and minor gods and goddesses are almost always performed by the two classes of Brahmans,—the Nambudiri and the Poti (or the Canara Brahman), who are esteemed as the highest in the social scale. Of these the Nambudiri Brahmanas are regarded as the foremost, as they still retain their primitive habits and high sacerdotal position. They form the socio-spiritual aristocracy of Malabar and as the traditional landlords of Sri Parasurama's land, they are everywhere held in great reverence.

In the ceremonies at *Bhagavathi* temples it is the lower and the degraded caste people and the Sudras that generally take part. In these temples it is customary to sacrifice sheep and poultry. During the festivals in honour of this goddess it is common for other votaries to pierce the muscles of the back with hooks and suffer themselves to be suspended from round a pole till their strength is quite exhausted.

Of the festivals, the principal are those of Vishnu and Onam. The former are celebrated in April and the latter in August or September. The Onam is most generally observed throughout the country. During the Onam Festival season the houses are adorned with flowers, lamps are kept burning and a spirit of jubilation pervades all ranks and classes of society. It would be almost impossible to enumerate one after another the various festivals that are celebrated at the innumerable temples in the country; but there is one grand feast called Murajabham, celebrated every sixth year at Trivandrum, that is worthy of notice. It occupies fifty-six days and brings together the whole Brahman population of the surrounding country who are entertained at an immense expense by the Government—a liberality or rather lavishness that has acquired for this State the epithet of Dharma Rajya or the land of charity (religious gifts) and the appellation of the "Model Native State" in all India.

The Government of Travancore have within the last twenty years resumed the whole of the pagoda lands, yielding an annual revenue of more than three lakhs of rupees. The expenses of all religious establishments are now defrayed from the State treasury and are adjusted on a liberal scale, so as to make possible the celebration of every ceremony in accordance with the established usages.

M. SATCHIDANANDAN PILLAI

WANDIWASH—THE PANIPAT OF SOUTHERN INDIA

I

It was a delightfully cool evening when we—a party of six filled with all the fervour and inspiration of an historic pilgrimage—stepped out from a belated train on the shady platform of the neat, small, attractive Railway station of *Acharapakam* in North Arcot District. The historic village of Wandiwash, better known in the vernacular as *Vandavasi*, is still 18 miles away to the west. A tall, conical, nobly-standing hill hazily seen in the distance marked out the place nearest to our hearts as students of history. For the initial eight miles the road runs through a reserved 'forest' of small shrubs of thick growth. Then, the scenery is superbly awe-inspiring, seen in the moon-lit night. We passed through one immense stretch of undulating plains replete with erratic boulders and occasionally relieved by a cluster of palmyras, the whole scenery bathed in the effulgent glory of a brilliant moon. With the first faint streaks of dawn the famous village presented itself before us. The position of this humble village which played so conspicuous a part in the struggle between the French and the English in Southern India in the 18th century was evidently of great strategic importance, commanding as it did the highway from Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic Nababs, to Gingi the impregnable fortress of Southern India. The occupation of the villagers is unthinkably pacific nowadays. Evidently the period of trouble and stress of which Wandiwash had had only too long and painful an experience, is over. Its political history is one of the most interesting of Indian records. The mention of

Wandiwash calls back to the resurgent memory the name of the veteran patriot and level-headed soldier Sir Eyre Coote, the faithful but unfortunate Major Brereton, the heroic but ill-rewarded Lieutenant Flint, the brilliant but impetuous Lally, the shrewd, the able, but star-crossed Bussy, the meteoric Hyder, the unlucky Tippu, and lastly, the incompetent Tuckia Sahib who could have carved out a kingdom had he the force of will to avail himself of the opportunities he had.

II

The Fort lies to the north of the village and is not built at any considerable elevation above the surrounding grounds. It is now almost in ruins. Massive walls of brick and mortar tottering on their foundations are found in the south-eastern corner of the fort, which was probably once the magazine and the strongest part. There are a dozen circular bastions at equal intervals, which were mounted once with artillery. The walls present an unending immensity of appearance. A moat surrounds the fort but is now shallow in most places. The bed of the moat is now under cultivation growing dry crops. The fort which is about a mile in circumference was probably built by the Marathas and was the chief military post during the Carnatic wars and the ^{“Uag...”} rule of the Arcot dynasty. The grassy plain in front of the south-western portion is dotted with innumerable cemeteries, probably the humble memorials of men who fell in the fight. To the east of this sacred plot of ground runs the pathway which leads up to the main entrance. Close to it remains in disturbed repose a small but handsome Vishnu temple. When Tippu Sultan besieged the fort, the protecting deity at the entrance naturally came in first to claim his attention. Many people attribute his subsequent failure to storm the fort to this initial act of profanity.

Three miles to the north-west of the fort stand in silent grandeur the Dowlagiri Hills. One of the decisive battles of India was fought on this little stretch of ground extending from the fort to the hills. Even today we hear of occasional finds of broken swords and skulls. The present generation vaguely remembers the closing scenes of battle in a bygone age. Tippu's name is remembered now most of all, with a dreamy sense of fear.

III

Wandiswash is an *inland* village, nearly a hundred miles away from the sea coast. But it is fast drifting now into the main current of Western civilisation and the fateful place that marred and made the fortunes of Lally and Coote, has begun to feel the stirrings of a new though alien life. There is here a post office elevated to the dignity of a telegraphic centre.

The Mahamadan population is still a thriving minority in Wandiswash being about a thousand out of a population of six thousand. Most of the Moslems here are 'Labbais.' Mat-making is one considerable occupation of the people. Paddy cultivation is meagre as the penurious soil yields but an indifferent return to sweated labour. The inhabitants are quiet and law-abiding. The streets and lanes and sanitation is still a mystery to the majority of the people. Two streams with an uncertain supply of water run close to the village. A small tank conserved with great care is used for drinking purposes. The climate of the place is on the whole good.

K. S. VENKATARAMANI,
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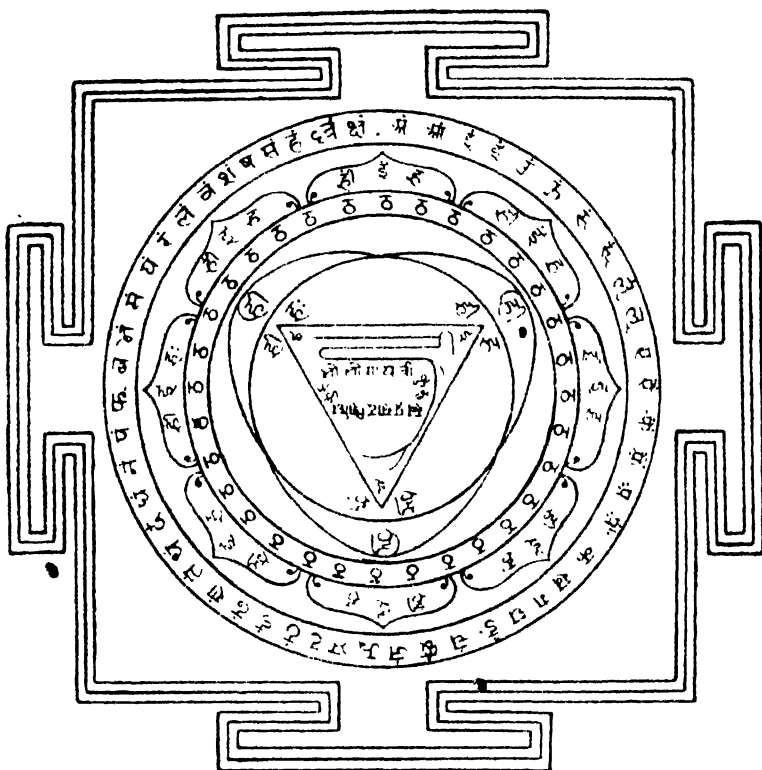
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PART I: INDIANA

NOTES ON THE EDUCATION^o PROBLEM IN INDIA—I QUESTIONS OF POLICY

I

The Indian Education Problem has hitherto been sought to be attacked from a non-Indian point of view. Towards the end of the second decade of the last century, under the impulse and inspiration of many and varied influences and ideals—missionary, political, economical, educational, philosophical and other—the idea that was gaining strength and currency in England among India's rulers was that India's destiny must be cast on an exclusively Western mould, and that her educational problem must be tackled so, that silently, steadily and persistently the thoughts, ideals and aspirations of her people, or at least (to begin with) the higher or better classes of her population, might be directed steadily towards the western goal. The educational policy that was thus started maintained its ground through almost the whole of the rest of the century. The mechanical view of life that held that society was but a physical aggregate of social atoms, the view that set little store by a people's *traditions* (and traditional institutions) as a moral and spiritual factor of great social value, as giving cohesion, strength and support to the social body politic—this inorganic, mechanical view of social life seems to have been in the ascendant for a long, long time since the second quarter of the last century. The value and force of tradition as the cement that spontaneously, naturally and effectively holds a society together—preventing it from falling to pieces or running to revolutionary lengths—this factor of social integration was not only not understood in the early parts of the nineteenth century, but it may be stated with some truth that it is even now not so well understood and

comprehended as it ought to be. The importance attached to the machinery of the State as the *deus ex machina* of modern life, and the exaggerated lengths to which the cult of the "individual", as a separated unit in the life of a society, has been pursued, are two of the most important circumstances that have prevented a proper understanding of the value of traditions in social life, and of the paramount need of conserving them with a view to ensure social stability. Thus, the educational problem in India has hitherto within the course of almost a whole century been understood either as a problem of how best to destroy all traditions of Indian life with a view to its future reorganisation on a Western model; or, on the other hand, as a problem of how merely to write on the "clean slate" of the Indian mind (supposed to be happily devoid of all traditions) modern prescriptions of Western enlightenment and progress. In India there have been and there are political revolutionaries; and similarly also there have been and there are Indian educational revolutionaries. These latter are those who would tear up by the roots Indian society and all its traditions and institutions which have served as a cement, in the hope and belief that out of the welter and chaos to which that society would be reduced by the destruction of all Indian traditions and ideas, should somehow arise the glorious fabric of the future civilisation of India, and a united and organised national life. In much the same way, the political visionary would dream of a rejuvenated India after the existing political order had been smashed into pieces and the reign of chaos had supervened; for the great obstacle in his eyes is the subsisting vicious order. The theory of a mysterious process of progress issuing forth as a certain objective through the destruction of an order based upon traditions is as much the philosophic basis of the educational revolutionary as of the political. The idea of building up progress on the *ruins* of a society is as much the ideal of the political, as of the educational, revolutionary. Thus, one of our own men honoured alike for his great learning and for his spotless integrity of character, but whose grasp of sociological problems is unfortunately of the same order as that of the political revolutionary, made the following appeal to the assembled graduates of Madras at an Annual Convocation of the Madras University held on 19th March, 1908: "Everything is in your favour. For a hundred years we have had a British Government, a foreign civilisation, at first deliberately and now steadily, and in spite of themselves, but with irresistible force, pulverising to atoms the repellent units of our society and forcing them into such close contact with one another as is bound to generate sufficient heat to fuse all those elements into a homogeneous mass, the social India

of the future . . . The present social condition of India is thus without a parallel in the history of the world Out of this *seething cauldron* is bound to arise the future Indian civilisation, and yours is the *magical wand* that will summon the new existence into the light of day." The Hon'ble Sir Sankaran Nair here relies for the success of his sociological experiment upon a convenient theory of "fusion" of social elements into a homogeneous whole after Indian society had undergone a process of disintegration and reduced to a huge mass of discrete, individual atoms,—relies upon a theory of "heat" generated in "a seething cauldron," and is supported by the presence of a super-physical entity with magical properties, the magician's "wand", the magician being in this case the graduate of an Indian University. Forgetting that society is not an aggregation of physical units, but is a higher complex, composed of entities possessing wills and emotions and held together by laws and forces and customs which require a very great length of time to take root, grow up and get assimilated into the body of the organism—in the shape of *traditions* which become the unconscious *heritage* of a people and the moral guarantee of social order and continuity without whose assistance all ordered growth and progress is impossible,—forgetting all this simple but fundamental factor of all social philosophy and science, Sir Sankaran Nair feels no scruple in witnessing Indian society reduced to a huge concourse of social atoms—reduced, in fact, to a state of unredeemed primitiveness, in order that through the mysterious interposition of some mysterious power and process the vision divine for which his heart craves—may take shape and emerge and get embodied in Indian Society,—which, however, in the meantime must have lost vitality and strength, by the loss and destruction of all those moral and spiritual ties and forces—in the shape of traditions and ideals—which had hitherto kept it intact and guaranteed its historical continuity. Almost identical views are held by the political revolutionary who could easily summon up any amount of physical and superphysical plausibilities of theories and metaphors to strengthen his hope and belief in the advent of a brighter day for India after she had gone through the necessary and purifying, if long-drawn, travail and ordeal of suffering and pain in the shape of anarchy and chaos following in the footsteps of *his* revolution. The following extracts from the Madras Convocation Speech by Sir Sankaran Nair might stand almost word for word as the declaration of the political revolutionary: "Do not look for contemporary approbation. Remember that the holiest names the page history has consecrated are those who defied public opinion. Remember that no great result has been achieved, whether by

individuals, or by nations, without sacrifice A revolution in social life is bound to produce acute suffering, in its authors as well as in its victims, but without suffering there can be no progress. I am quite prepared to admit that some social confusion, perhaps social anarchy, may have to be endured before the new order of society settles down permanently, and the new forces are cemented together ; but, believe me, it is the storm that clears the air. If such works frighten you away from reform all I can say is, you are not worthy of the priceless inheritance bequeathed to all those who speak the English language by the great Englishmen of old." And Sir Sankaran Nair from his exalted pedestal, delivering a Convocation Address for the University of Madras, explains how the British Government has been and is smoothing the way for the success of his revolutionary propaganda. Thus : " So far as South India is concerned many obstacles are being removed ; with a redistribution of landed property in the wake of the British conquest, and the intrusion of the official into the place occupied by the Raja or Zemindar between the ruler and the ruled, the influence of the great Zemindars began to decline. With that decline and the advance of English education, the ancient priesthood of India also began to lose their hold upon the people. The influence of these classes is still not despicable, but it is a decadent and dwindling influence. The village community too as a living force is gone. These three, the great landholders, the priests, and the village community were in ancient days, as it were, the three estates of the realm, which swayed the moral and political destinies of the country. They were all powerful forces making for conservatism, if not for reaction, both in Hindu and in Muhammedan society, and the policy of the British Government, consciously or unconsciously, has driven them out of active life, and thus materially smoothed our path. It behoves us to follow up this enormous advantage, which is not of our making."

To some revolutionary spirits the world started afresh from 1789, or some other Year One ; before that date appear the monstrous forms of tyrannies and superstitions which " tare each other in their slime." Then of a sudden were born light and love, freedom and truth :—

- " This is the day which down the void abysm,
- " At the Earth-born's spell, yawns for Heaven's despotism,
- " And conquest is dragged captive through the deep,
- " Love from its awful throne of patient power
- " In the wise heart, from the last giddy hour
- " Of dread endurance, from the slippery, steep,
- " And narrow verge of crag-like agony springs,

"And folds over the world its healing wings." *

"The loathsome mask has fallen. The man remains—

"Equal, unclassed, tribeless, nationless,

"Exempt from awe, worship, degree, the king

"Over himself ; just, gentle, wise : but man."*

Such is the revolutionary idea of progress, which is founded not on the spirit of order and ordered growth, but on the spirit of destruction,—which would break down old barriers and conventions, disendow a people of all those permanent institutions which have hitherto served definite ends, without a clear scheme, or even any remote conception, of how those institutions should have to be replaced by others to serve similar or better ends,—which would *first* destroy the very framework and all corporate traditions of the social body politic and reduce it to a state of atomic primitiveness, in search of an abstraction,—an abstract scheme of social rebuilding. And Sir Sankaran Nair and many like him who strangely mix in their moral and mental composition something of the revolutionary enthusiasm of the later 18th and early 19th centuries, with something of the enthusiasm of the philosophical Radicals of the mid-Victorian era, to whom, as Mill has pointed out in his "Autobiography",—"aristocratic rule was the object of their sternest aversion," and "an established Church or corporation of priests, as being by position the great depravers of religion, and interested in opposing the progress of the human kind, was, next after aristocracy, the most detestable of things",—Sir Sankaran Nair and others like him endowed with an ardent but destructive temperament would combine in their educational propaganda for the Indian Universities the ideals of the French Revolutionary Epoch (which would regard the past of a thing to be blotted out from memory), and the ideals of Ethical Radicalism, which would drive out of society the aristocracy and the priests as the greatest obstacles to the progress of the human kind in India.

II

The point of all this is that the educational methods in India, if they are directed steadily to the uprooting of the traditions of Indian society and civilisation, through the undermining of its traditional institutions by means of which the fabric of that society and civilisation has been reared up and maintained,—the point is that such educational methods must sooner or later, but sooner than later, and necessarily, give birth to revolutionary ideas in the field of Indian politics. The

* Percy Bysshe Shelley : "Prometheus Unbound."

"individual" as *individual*, is always a disintegrating factor in society ; and it has been discovered none too soon that only through the continual and unceasing action of the machinery of the modern State, is it possible to hold in check and in balance a community whose members would delight in the theory of a new-found creed of individualism as the sole basis of their endeavour, and who spurning at all traditions would swear by the doctrine of contract as the sole criterion of right and wrong in every sphere of human relations—aye, even in the sphere of that sacred and fundamental of human relations typified by the Family. Historical testimony and human reason undubitably support and confirm the proposition that, at however high a figure you may assess the value of State action as a factor in the preservation of law and order in a given community, the community would be always in a state of *unstable* equilibrium, when the forces of *traditional* ideals which are as it were the soul and cement to all societies have lost their hold on the community,—and in the place of the power of tradition is substituted the spirit of a naked individualism (and intellectualism) which could conceive of no higher object of homage and worship than that embodied in the doctrine of the freedom of contract. If it is admitted that State action forging rights and duties for "individuals" in modern Western society, and enforcing them at the point of the sword (whether through the machinery of the courts or otherwise).—if it is admitted that such State action is a potent instrument in the preservation of law and order in a Modern State,—the other factor stands out equally clear that the traditions of law and order, of *inherited* moral and religious life, in a given society—that such traditions handed down from generation to generation as a people's *heritage*—must in the last resort—when everything fails—come to the aid of that society to prevent its disruption from within. The traditions, indeed, because they are a people's collective *heritage*, supply the surest safeguards and cornerstones of social stability and order, without which no advance is possible in any society ; they supply, in truth, the moral cement, the strength to hold in check and in balance the disruptive forces thus perpetually in action within the bosom of a society in the shape of egoistic impulses of individuals. If it is argued that the body of existing traditions of Indian society must give way to some thing better and stronger and nobler, the answer to it is that, assessing your proposals and intentions at your own valuation, you cannot jeopardise the very existence of the social organism by first seeking to destroy its traditions and ideals which are its cement and soul, unless at the same time, the approved body of new ideas and conceptions upon which you pin your faith have had time—and it takes quite a long

time—to take root and get assimilated into the social body politic. Your body of new ideas and conceptions which are to replace the indigenous ones must, in order that they may act as forces making for stability and order—and not for disintegration merely—themselves acquire the status of *traditions* in the old society permeating its life (and not merely affecting the life of a number of individuals and classes) before they could hope to serve the purposes of social integration. We are for the moment leaving out of account all arguments relative to the superior validity of the new conceptions of moral and religious life which you seek to introduce, or their superior efficacy in relation to the particular society which is to receive them. But our whole point is that your educational methods cannot (without involving you in a heavy responsibility in the process) lightly set aside—but on the contrary, must put great store by,—the existing body of traditions that have hitherto supported the social organism in its struggle with its environment, before it has become possible, through the silent growth of *traditions of the new order* for the organism to preserve itself as also its historical continuity. The arbitrary methods, so warmly approved by well-meaning educational revolutionaries, of throwing everything into the melting pot to undergo a process of *preliminary* dissolution in order that a new society might some day crystallise out into shape, do not seem to us to be warranted by any approved historical precedents. On the other hand, the methods which we inveigh against are useful only as explaining our position that if our educational policy does not of set purpose make it its aim and business to safeguard the interests of social order and stability (independently of the operations of the legislature aided by the power of the sword) through the *as* and the aids provided by the existing body of indigenous traditions—when—the revolutionary and disruptive tendencies that are set in motion by the educational propaganda would ultimately affect the attitude and *of* *the* *individuals* (left without the moral guidance supplied by *the* *ancient* *traditions*)—towards the State. The problem of “the raising of a few loyal and honourable citizens for the welfare of the State” which Valentine Chirol has quoted with approval in one of his famous Letters to the *Times* from a Convocation Address by Vice-Chancellor Sir Asutosh Mookerjee is, we contend, intimately bound up with the successful solution of another problem—namely, how to set the pace to Western education which, while introducing new ideas and ideals into Indian Society, may not inconsiderately or of set purpose uproot and undermine the ties and traditions which hold Indian society together. It does not seem even now recognised by many that the educational methods adopted by the Indian universities have been only one-sided

In their character, in that they have not hitherto sufficiently taken note of indigenous traditions as contributing to the forces of social order and stability—but, on the other hand, have, either consciously or unwittingly, but always in the name of progress and enlightenment,—set themselves to the task of undermining the very fabric of Indian society, by weakening its traditions, without being able in the meantime to foster and promote and create other *traditions* which would serve as a social cement. For, it has been declared by the highest authorities that the “New Ideal”* in University education in India is but the *beginning* of an attempt to create a *new tradition* through the machinery of residential colleges and residential universities, seeing that in the opinion of those entrusted with governance of the country, no adequate measure of success has attended the older attempts under the auspices of the affiliating type of Indian universities (hitherto almost wholly engaged in the task of distributing useful or utilitarian knowledge and learning)—to introduce conceptions of order and stability on new lines of social organisation after the old indigenous traditions, without much exercise of a discriminative choice, have been sought to be weakened. And it does appear to not a few that the declaration of Vice-Chancellor Mookerjee made in the Address read out before His Majesty the King-Emperor, in Calcutta, on the 6th of January, 1912, that the Indian Universities have been intended to serve as so many “centres of stability”, while at the same time acting as “leaders in the great intellectual movement that is re-shaping India”, was a little wide of the mark. And so we are supremely grateful to His Imperial Majesty for the new lead given to the Universities by the gracious pronouncement made in the course of His Majesty's Reply to the University Address—a pronouncement which undoubtedly represents the policy of the present Government of India—that “it is to the Universities of India that I look to assist in gradual union and fusion of the culture and aspirations of European and Indians on which the future well-being of India so greatly depends and that “you have to conserve the ancient learning and simultaneously push forward Western science.”

* The attention of the reader is here invited to the following sentences taken from the Address delivered by Lord Minto as Chancellor of the Calcutta University at the Annual Convocation held on the 14th March, 1908.—“I would impress on you that Dr. Mookerjee has assumed the reins of office at a turning point in the history of the University, for with its Jubilee, the University enters not only on a new chronological era, but on a new régime. I have no need to prophesy as to the future. Yet of this we may rest assured, we have embarked upon what has been very aptly called—“The New Ideal” in University education in India—possibilities are in the air which have not yet been moulded into shape—early conceptions of the aims of University education are giving way to the hopes of educational influence over social life—a thirst for practical knowledge, and for the wholesome advantages offered by residential colleges, is beginning to dim the momentary glories of successful examinations.”

III

There is a great and permanent fallacy underlying the theory that the destruction of all distinctively Indian traits and traditions could lead to the permanent installation of a European type of character and the forging of new and stable bonds and ties between the rulers and the ruled. In the first place, the fact must never be forgotten that whatever the type of character, which would eventually arise, having any pretence to stability, must arise as the result of a process of development from within and in contact with the new environment. The mere destruction of the older indigenous traditions and ideals by means of methods educational and other and under the inspiration of Western ideals—if indeed such a result could be completely accomplished—cannot inaugurate any new type of character,—of whatever pattern. It could only result in social retrogression or individualistic anarchy and disorder. If a new order, that is to say, an organic or organised order must arise, so that society might be held together not by the strength of an external military organisation, or of a despotic legislature acting in association with it, but by the natural and spontaneous operation and co-operation of internal moral forces working within the bosom of that society itself, then it is necessary that the newer forces should emerge and take shape and take root through a process of gradual and ordered development on the basis of an existing, older order. If these internal forces which would by a natural process add support and strength to the stability of a society be intended to be European or Western in their character and features, still this European character would have to be achieved through a process of natural and organic development of the Indian mind and ideals. The mere destruction or suppression of the older type would not necessarily lead to the formation or creation of a newer and stable type, whether of a European, or modern, or other pattern. And it is our contention that the interests of and stability of the Government are closely identified with a gradual fusion of the newer ideals with the older, leading to a composite, a few
critic
ed growth. The attempt at a suppression or destruction of the older ideals by all the means and resources at the disposal of an omnipotent Government—legislative, educational, economic, political, &c., &c.,—would, we contend, neither lead to any lasting Europeanisation of the people, nor add to those forces of stability and order in the country which would be aids to good government at the hands of our rulers.

The Government of this country has a very grave and difficult problem to solve and it has to be solved correctly, alike in its own interest, and in the interest of the country itself. Towards the close of the second decade of the last century and onwards, the theory had

more or less got complete hold of the statesmen who were in charge of India's political destiny that, firstly, it was possible and practicable through the introduction of a sufficient dose of Europeanism in India to metamorphose India and her peoples—her character and traditions, since it was almost assumed, that such civilisation and traditions were in a dying or decadent condition, requiring only the impact of the stronger and more virile forces of life and thought and institutions such as ^{had} ^{been} ^{at} the disposal of her rulers, to hasten and complete a process of decay and disintegration which had already spontaneously set in within the bosom of Indian society itself. And, secondly, it was taken for granted that such transformation which, however, it was assumed, would be more or less in the nature of a crumbling down of the ramparts of an ancient edifice which was rotten to the core,—that such transformation, if effected, would prove of lasting benefit to the Paramount Power. The power of resistance which India has shown to the sociological treatment that has so far been accorded to her—her refusal to go under, notwithstanding the strenuous onslaughts that have been dealt at her in the shape of attempts directed towards the absolute anglicising of her character—are phenomena of vital moment which have set the wiser statesmen at the helm to study the old problem in a strangely new light. If the transformation or metamorphosis of India could have been effected as the Court of Directors in the first instance, and latterly, Macaulay, and the framers of the Education Despatch of 1854 had hoped and desired,—if indeed the old civilisation and type of character which India had evolved through the ages under historical conditions was, at the time when European civilisation was sought to be introduced into India, really in a dying or decadent condition,—then of course a new race and type would have by this time arisen, and the political problem before rulers would have worn a wholly different aspect and been capable of better understood and better handled by them. As it is, walls have not fallen down, the transformation has not been so rapid or so very marked as on *a priori* grounds, it was supposed to be; and as a consequence of a wrong diagnosis and wrong handling of the Indian problem, a complicated situation has arisen—a situation whose political bearings are of the anarchical sort. It is not the question of the loyalty of the many and of disloyalty of the irreconcilable few, that we are alluding to, but the point requires to be brought home that the situation that has arisen is, ^{an} ^{early} ^{stage} ^{of} ^{educational} ^{glories} bottom revolutionary or anarchical in character. If you seek to free a people from its old moorings and are half successful in the whole, you are unable to absorb the forces that are thus set free into an ^{of} ^{your} ^{own}, your own,

you necessarily come face to face with an amount of revolutionary energy which would be a source of danger not only to the community but also to the State itself. The aspect of the whole situation is, we say, revolutionary; for the old edifice has not rapidly gone down, and the new edifice that was to be has not yet taken any pronounced shape, and the older statesmen have to think out the whole problem afresh. It would be an error to conceive that the situation that has arisen is but part of a necessary process of transition,—which implies the efficacy and success of the methods that have been adopted. For it is, as has been admitted, that there was a miscalculation from the start as to the strength and vitality of the structure that was sought to be brought down, and so the old methods and standards are about to be abandoned in favour of newer ones to suit the realities of the case. The statesmen at the helm have set themselves to re-organise their whole policy and programme of education for India, for the old diagnosis about India which centred round the formula that her civilisation and culture was effete and decadent has not proved quite correct, and the problem has had to be studied and attacked afresh.* Such is the interpretation that must be given to the anxiety of the Government

* Read in this connection the following from a recent Convocation Address:—
 “The narrowness of Lord Macaulay's view of the objects of education in this vast country is strikingly displayed in his summary. ‘We must do our best,’ he wrote, ‘to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect.’ The complete anglicising of an interpreter class, whom Lord Macaulay contemplated, was evidently impracticable. We cannot by education transform the “intellect” of an ancient people, or re-construct their “taste” and “opinion” in exact accordance with foreign models. Even if such a proceeding were practicable it would be eminently undesirable, because a *can* of artificial conversion, *which takes no account of inherent genius and* moderns more likely to injure than to elevate a native population . . . The permanent and wide a people can only be secured by the *agency of its own inherent capacities* *led by education* suited to its needs. Western influence has certainly tended to *fade* the old customs of India; but *reconstruction cannot be said to* *have made marked progress*. . . At the time when Lord Macaulay proposed to *the* absolute anglicising of India, education in England was in a most unsatisfactory position. There can be little doubt that the greatly mistaken views of Lord Macaulay served to influence education in succeeding years. . . . In deciding these vitally important points which lie at the root of a national system of education the *special characteristics of a people must be taken into full consideration*.”—[From an Address delivered on 8th February, 1908, by Sir George Clarke (now Lord Sydenham) in his capacity of Chancellor at the Annual Convocation of the University of Bombay.]

Of similar nature are the following observations of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P.—“Our *present* methods were begun by a generation and by men who

to abandon the policy as set out in the Education Despatch of 1854—a policy which was associated with giving the old indigenous culture the go-by, while emphasising the saving virtues of mere knowledge—secular, utilitarian knowledge from the West—for the elevation of the standard not merely of the intelligence, but also the morals and character of the Indian peoples. Such, indeed, is the interpretation that must be given to the evident anxiety of the Government to introduce a scheme of residential colleges and residential universities to mould the scholar's social character through the influences of the developing traditions of such universities; the anxiety of the Government also to frame measures for the moral and religious upbringing of the scholars under their control, and so on and so on— all directed, as it is explained by the authorities themselves, to help in the "formation of the character of the undergraduates under tuition."

IV

(A)

The problem of education for India as contemplated by our rulers is essentially a problem of the evolution of Indian Society under the influence of Western civilisation. The education that we gave had no historical sense and whose sociological theories were based upon the assumption that every mind at the beginning is a blank tablet upon which anything can be written. Therefore our methods were too absolute. The education that we gave was not a graft upon Indian civilisation, but a transplanted slip of Western civilisation. "Our efforts," said Macaulay, "ought to be directed to make natives of India thoroughly good English scholars." The break caused was too evident. The educated was uprooted. He was taught to look upon his past with contempt, and to be an alien amongst his own people. He has had to revolt against us to regain his faith and his historical affinities." (Pp. 215-16 of *The Awakening of India*—Hodder and Stoughton—London, 1910). We need only here add to Mr. MacDonald's summing up that under missionary and Western influence—which represented India as a mass of tyrannies and superstitions, in every department of life—domestic, social and commercial—full of errors in religion, art and literature—the idea had taken root in the minds of English statesmen here and at home that an effete, ancient and obsolescent civilisation (as Indian society and civilisation were assumed to be) was bound to give way naturally and spontaneously at the first touch of enlightenment from the West. By way of illustration of missionary influence we quote from the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July 1910, p. 86, and for October 1910, pp. 20-21, the following: "It was believed that if the India Government gave no support to any of the indigenous religions of the country, its inhabitants would sooner or later embrace Christianity." (*Ibid.*, July 1910). And again—"It was believed that if the British abstained from all support of the Indian religions the Indians would in a body embrace Christianity." (*Ibid.*, October, 1910). The fuller extracts in the text may be looked up by the interested reader to understand the standpoint from which the attack on Indian Society and civilisation was directed in the first half of the 19th century. ^{by early} ^{of education} ^{be wholesome} ^{glories} ^{on} "The Educational Policy of the Government of India", dated 21st July, 1913.

the influences of Western ideals. In the foregoing pages we have sought to establish certain propositions which may be here summarily stated. We have attempted to show that the destruction of the indigenous ideals and traditions under the influence of Western ideals may disorganise and disintegrate a whole society without resulting in the building up of a new society on a Western model—that is to say, a society endowed with Western *traditions*: The result under such circumstances would be undoubtedly not only a social catastrophe, but also and necessarily the creation of a supreme danger to the State. We have further seen that even a partial destruction of indigenous traditions, under Western influences, leading to a correspondingly partial dislocation of an existing order would not of itself or spontaneously produce a new order based upon new traditions or ideals of a Western pattern. For, the growth of a new social order with any pretence to stability is practically synonymous with the growth of a body of new traditions—of whatever pattern—and the mere destruction, whether in whole or in part, of a body of existing traditions under foreign influences cannot of itself lead to the rise and growth of a body of new traditions. Thus, even the partial destruction of indigenous traditions and ideals—must also set free a certain amount of revolutionary energy which would continue to make its destructive influence felt until a fresh social order (following upon the progressive growth of a body of new traditions) should have emerged. Thus, the threefold view which has been sought to be brought out is that social order is bound up with the existence and development of a body of social traditions, and, secondly, that the destruction, whether in whole or in part, of indigenous traditions would not necessarily lead to the growth of any traditions of a new type such as would ensure social stability on a new basis; and lastly, that this destruction of indigenous traditions—this loosening of the cohesive forces of a society—is bound to set free a certain amount of unrest and revolutionary energy which could not be presently brought under control by the State, until and unless a new social order marked by the growth of a body of new traditions should definitely arise.

The problem of education in India cannot, therefore, be one of merely destroying or undermining the existing indigenous traditions which are the foundations of the existing social order, and, consequently, also of political stability; for, we must repeat: such destruction would not of itself build up any sort of order—of whatever pattern, Western or other, since the foundations of such new order must be laid in a body of new traditions which would require time to take root and grow and be assimilated into the social body politic. The problem

of education in India accordingly is of a more constructive order; but the theory of destruction of an existing traditional order, to be automatically replaced by an order of a Western pattern had held the field for the last three quarters of the nineteenth century and educational programme and policy in India had accordingly moved in an altogether abstract groove. The possibility of the substitution of an imported system of culture and civilisation for the one existing in the land had laid down to the nineties of the last century haunted the imagination of many of England's best administrators and statesmen, and been regarded as falling within the pale of practical politics. How in the place of the existing Indian indigenous traditions to substitute the social tradition and atmosphere created in the West by Christian Education in childhood, by Law founded on Christian Ethics and the traditions of the Greco-Roman culture, by an Environment formed under the influences of Christianity (modified latterly by the forces of capitalism and commercialism), and lastly by an unwritten moral code which may be said to sum up the whole forces of tradition obtaining among our rulers in their own homes,—how to substitute such foreign type of culture and character in place of the existing one in India—was for a long time and is with not a few even now the constant source of inspiration and effort. And the problem was very much complicated by the strongly rooted belief among the administrators and statesmen in charge of India's political destiny during the better part of the last century that Indian civilisation and culture was in a dying and decadent condition, and that the virile forces of life and thought from the West needed only to have come in peaceful contact with this effete civilisation to hasten a process of natural decay and disintegration which had already set in. As we have already seen, this last theory was based on a miscalculation, but nevertheless the fundamental error remained that the problem of education for India was conceived to be mainly identified with imposing upon Indian social organism an environment of a Western pattern, in that such organism might be silently but steadily metamorphosed transformed into the form and shape demanded by the British rulers in India. An ideal of education, which was *not* to be a mere mode of substitution of a foreign type of culture and character for the traditional indigenous one, but which was to be a process of development of the indigenous type *from within*, under the influence of, and through contact with, the newer environment from the West,—a process, in fact, of a gradual and natural growth and evolution under the early influences of Indian character and ideals and traditions—such as the whole system of education, *serve the moral, spiritual and historical continuity of Indian society* and civilisation.

—such an evolutionary conception of Western education for India had not taken hold of the minds of our rulers during the last century and dictated their educational policy. Too much emphasis, unfortunately, was laid upon the environmental changes that were sought to be introduced through educational and other agencies, as constituting a decisive factor in the situation. The possibility of the social organism, resisting the environment in its own interest of a more natural and steady growth, a growth more in harmony with the inherent genius and capacities of the organism, was almost wholly left out of account. A superintendent was unconsciously attached to only one side of the problem, namely, that of the action of the environment upon the social organism in India—upon indigenous social life and culture,—and the problem of education for India was sought to be solved not by utilising, and directing, and regulating the forces of life working within the bosom of Indian society along evolutionary channels; but by seeking to impose upon the last a wholesale scheme of life of a Western pattern, under the idea and belief that the environment thus created would effectually dominate the whole situation and succeed in quietly establishing the permanent supremacy of the new scheme over the old.

(B)

But the problem of education is not all or merely a question of creating a certain environment for the social or the individual organism to be subjected to its influence. There is also the other and no less important or vital consideration: How far will the organism co-operate with the environment thus created? The reaction of the organism upon the environment is as much a factor in the case as the action of the environment upon the organism itself. It is a too common fallacy to imagine that the organism has no other function than merely to adapt itself to the environment, and to get modified, absorbed or assimilated in the process. The other alternative is that where the inborn tendencies of an individual or a social unit are of a character which resist subjection to the particular environment amidst which it is placed, the organism sets itself to the task of moulding or modifying the environment to suit the necessities of its own special culture, its own genius, its own inherent characteristics. It is almost taken for granted that the duty of the individual organism is to subordinate itself to the environment—to “adapt” itself to the conditions imposed by the environment, for it is argued that such adaptation is the only way to escape extinction. The real truth, however, is that the environment exists or ought to exist as an aid to individuals in a society to afford opportunities for individual and social development along special lines characteristic of each individual and society. The environment is

there to aid the individual and the community at large, not to impede, hinder, or mislead. Thus, submission or adaptation to the environment may have to be resisted if the need should arise, in the interests of the organism itself, because such submission may not always lead to the deepening and enriching of all that is characteristic of, all that is vital or essential in the life of the organism; since it is clear that from this deepening and enriching of the inner life alone proceeds all creative activity.

THE BENEFIT of all this on the educational policy and programme of the Government is that there is need to start with a clear conception as to whether the particular changes in the environment which are sought to be introduced by particular educational and other methods will ultimately react upon the Indian social organism in a manner consonant with its growth along natural, evolutionary channels: for otherwise such changes will be resisted and even thwarted (where the opposition offered by the newer environment be not too strong), or, in the alternative, merely submitted to, without producing a real transformation of character and ideals—a rebirth of society. An exalted scheme of British Imperialism may demand that Indian character should be reshaped and remoulded to suit the paramount needs of a world-wide British Empire. But the whole problem is—Should the changes in the environment that may be induced by all the forces of an omnipotent Government—be after all powerful enough to combat and conquer the inborn tendencies and aptitudes of the Indian races to follow certain *dominant* lines of growth, which have been further strengthened by an age-long process of traditional advance. "There can be no question," observes a living English publicist, "that the Japanese have easily made themselves heirs of the outward and material aspects of occidental civilisation progress; but they boast that the heart is still Japanese. In other words it is more easy for a nation to change its coat than to change its character. It is not an outward but an inward difference that the Americans regard as a menace to their civilisation and their institutions." This is written in reference to the agitation over the American attitude of animosity towards the Japanese on the Californian land question, in connection with which there recently appeared in the London *Times*, a letter from the American Admiral Mahan which was supported editorially by the great London journal. The Tokyo Press opposed the contention of the American naval officer in regard to the alleged incapacity of the Japanese for assimilating Western civilisation, and pointed to Japan's progress towards westernisation during the last fifty years as proof of the nation's ability to transform itself along natural lines. The answer from the western point of view to the Japanese contention

is further brought out by the writer from whom we have already quoted, in the following words:—"What the Tokyo Press and the people of Japan generally fail to see, however, is that the incapacity for assimilation to which Western writers chiefly refer and which occidental people have, for the most part, in mind is not a material but a *moral* transformation."*

It does appear that only where the life, culture and civilisation of a society is in a dying or decadent condition,—in other words, only where the social organism, by reason of its interior rottenness, is powerless in the face of external conditions,—does the social organism get itself transformed into the shape and form imposed upon it by the environment. In all other cases, the organism is in a position to offer its choice, and either adapts itself willingly to the environment, because it is helpful to its growth, and so far as it is helpful; or, opposes the external conditions, endeavouring to mould them to its own purposes and perhaps succeeding in the attempt; or, lastly, it may succumb in the struggle against the forces outside, in which case the organism is merely *suppressed*, but not destroyed.

[PART FIRST ENDED]

* The extracts are from an article entitled *Japan under Criticism. An Outward Transformation*—appearing in the *Calcutta Statesman* for August 10, 1913, being a reprint of a special article in the *Times of India*, Bombay.

Errata:—In the above article, on p. 199, line 10 (from bottom),
 after welfare of the State read *the welfare of the State*, to use the phraseology
 can
 modern
 and will
 Also, in the same article, on p. 200, line 12 (from top),
 for governance read *the governance*
 Also, in the same article, on p. 201, line 7 (from top),
 for must read *it must*
 a few
 criticism

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

We desire hereby to humbly express our thanks to the Publishers of the following valuable works for their courtesy in presenting us with copies of them.

1. **Report of the Indian Architecture:** Being "Types of Modern Indian Buildings" by G. G. Gangaiah, Allahabad, Lucknow, Ajmere, Bhopal, Bikanir, Gwalior, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Odaipore, with notes on the Craftsmen employed on their design and execution": Prefaced by a "Note on the Development of Indian

Architecture" by J. Begg, F.R.I.B.A., Consulting Architect to the Government of India, and a "Foreword" and "Notes" by Mr. Gordon Sanderson of the Archaeological Department: Plates 93 + Frontispiece: Published by the Government of India and printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Allahabad: Price **₹ 9. or 13s. 6d.**, 1913.

2. **Islamic Architecture: Its Psychology, Structure and History** from the First Moslem Invasion to the Present Day—By Mr. E. B. Havell: Doubleday 8vo., pp. 260 + xx, with 130 plates: Published by John Murray, London, W., 1913: Price **30 s.** (thirty shillings) net. [Vide Advt. in the *Dawn*, the present issue]

3. **Orissa and Her Remains**—By Manomohan Ganguli, B.E., M.R.A.S. With an Introduction by the Hon'ble Mr. J. G. Woodroffe, M.A., Judge, Calcutta High Court: Pages xx + 510: 38 Plates: Published by Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta: 1912: Price **₹ 10.** [Vide Advt. in the *Dawn*, Jan., Feb., and March, 1913]

4. **The Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanja**—By S. Nagendra Nath Vasu, Prachyavidyāmahārāja, M.R.A.S., Editor of the *Vivakosha*, Royal 8vo.: Pages viii + 6 + cclxiii + 165 + xxii + 2, Illustration Plates 53, Inscription Plates 24: Price **₹ 10:** Published by the Mayurbhanja State, Orissa, 1911: obtainable also from the author, 20, Kantapukur Lane, Baghazar, Calcutta. [Vide Advt. in the *Dawn*, March and April, 1912]

5. **Tantra of the Great Liberation (Mahānirvāṇa Tantra)**—A Translation from the Sanskrit, with Introduction and Commentary—By Arthur Avalon. Royal 8vo.: Pages 359 + cxlvi: Published by Messrs. Luzac & Co., London, W. C., 1913: Indian Agents: Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta, Price **₹ 8.** [Vide Advt., in the *Dawn*, the present issue]

6. **Hymns to the Goddess** (Translated from the Sanskrit)—By Arthur and Ellen Avalon, Royal 8vo., Pages vii + 179: Published by Messrs. Luzac & Co., London, W. C., 1913: Indian Agents—Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta, Price **₹ 4.** [Vide Advt., in the *Dawn*, the present issue]

7. **The Britannic Question: A Survey of Alternatives**—By Richard H. T. E. Author of "Studies in Colonial Nationalism", "The Imperial Conference" etc.: Double-Crown 16 mo.: pages 262: Published by Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1913: Price **1s. 6d.**

8. **Tod's Annals of Rajasthan (Mewar)**—By Mr. C. H. Payne, M.A., Crown 8vo., pp. 216, 16 Plates and a Map: Published by Messrs. George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., London. Price **3s. 6d.**, net.

9. **গৌড়রাজমালা** (in Bengali)—By S. Rama Prasad Chanda, B.A.; with an Introduction by S. Akshoy Kumar Maitra, M.A., B.L.: Double-Crown, 8vo., pp. 18 + 78: Published by বঙ্গ-বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়-সমিতি, রাজশাহী, Bengal, India Research Society, Rajshahi). Price **₹ 2.**

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PART III

SECTION I - INDIAN EDUCATIONAL AND ALLIED MOVEMENTS

INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

[Being the Substance of a Lecture with lantern slide illustrations, delivered some time ago by Mr. E. B. Havell in The Lyceum Theatre, London, under the presidency of the Earl of Plymouth.]

1. Before I show you the slides with which I am going to illustrate the work of the Indian master-builders, past and present, I will try to state briefly and concisely the real issues which have to be determined in the building of the new Delhi. Many people seem to think that the vital issue in the whole case is what has been called a problem of "style"—and that in this connection there is a conflict between the interests or the ideals of India and of Great Britain. It is a thousand pities that any such conflict should arise or be suggested, but the reasons for it only exist in the minds of those who shut their eyes to patent facts and bring totally irrelevant side-issues into the debate.

2. The plain facts are that for several centuries in Europe—or since the intrusion of the antiquarian into affairs of the practical builder—building has, for the most part, ceased to be an art and become as much a mechanical operation as the making of gramophones and grind-organs. So instead of a living school of architectural art in which national historical traditions and culture express themselves spontaneously through the intelligence of highly skilled handicraftsmen,—as much in the laying of bricks and setting of stones as in architectonic design or in fine sculpture and painting, we have on the one side a canon of archaeological designers disputing about methods and certain modernistic abstractions called "styles," and on the other side a body of mechanical artificers who put up machine-made buildings not according to art but according to patterns of style—like the fashions of the

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crisis. 3. I will not enlarge upon the disastrous effect which this degradation of a noble art has upon social life and upon the creative powers of the nation at large, but I think it must be clear to all thoughtful people that the reduction of a large class of skilled craftsmen to a state of intellectual serfdom must lower national vitality and check the moral and spiritual progress of the whole community. A living national art is a sort of educational force, acting as a constant stimulus to national energy, and storing up in the mentality of the people an ever-increasing reserve of creative power which manifests itself in the

work of coming generations. The wonderful progress which Europe has made within the last few centuries in the direction of mechanical invention is the manifestation of the reserve of creative power stored up by the craftsmen of the Middle Ages. But the indiscriminate and reckless application of mechanical power to all forms of activity leads only to national suicide; for by killing handicraft, it restricts higher intellectual comfort to a comparatively small section of the community and makes the vast majority incapable of adding to the national reserves of creative energy for the benefit of our posterity.

4. Now in this question the interests of Great Britain and of India are absolutely identical. The craftsmanship of India is a part of our Imperial assets. The building of the new Delhi is, therefore, not a problem of style, but a problem of using Indian craftsmanship to the best possible advantage for the good of the whole Empire. I am quite willing to admit the force of the argument that this is an occasion on which the paramount power should manifest its supremacy through its art. But it is cynical selfishness or utter foolishness to say that on that account we must ignore the living art of India. There are plenty of instances in history of deliberate ruthless vandalism in the passion of warfare or religious strife, but none in which a great civilised nation deliberately and advisedly as a matter of State policy used its power over a subject people to prevent a free use of their artistic capacity. Greece did not do so in Egypt. Rome did not act thus in Greece. Muhammadan conquerors in India began by destroying Hindu and Buddhist temples, but ended by using Indian temple craftsmen to create for them the great architecture which is most inaccurately and unhistorically called Indo-Saracenic.¹

1. Mr. Havell insists on this idea in the following quotation which we find in his paper on *Indian Builders and Public Works Architecture* submitted to the All India Industrial Conference, held at Calcutta, towards the end of Dec. 1912, and reprinted in the *Hindustan Review* for January, 1913: "Although Moguls brought into Indian architecture notions of greater spaciousness and native simplicity to which the Hindu builders readily adapted themselves, the development of it under Mogul rule came not from the teaching of Muhammadan builders, but because they directed the skill of Hindu builders into new channels" (p. 17). So also in chapter VII (pp. 118-121, and pp. 140-141) of his "The Ideals of Indian Art" (John Murray, 1911) we read:—"Anglo-Indians have always ascribed the artistic triumphs of the Indian Mogul dynasty to the superior æsthetic genius of Islam; but this is a quite untrue reading of Indian art history. They should rather be attributed to the wonderful State-craft of the great thinker Akbar, who, by rallying round his throne all the hereditary artistic skill of India, and in building up his empire with the *Bhakti* of Hinduism in much the same way as the Mikados of Japan used the national cult of Shintoism to glorify their own dynasty. The Moguls in China, in Persia, in India, and wherever else they went,

5. Let us admit freely that the Paramount Power in the present instance has the full right to use its best artistic capacity: the question is,

assimilated the art of the races they conquered. The art of Fatehpur-Sikri and of Jehangir's great palace at Agra is essentially Hindu art. Abul Fazl, writing with full appreciation of contemporary painting, says of the Hindus: 'Their pictures surpass our conception of things. Few, indeed, in the whole world are found equal to them.' Even in the Taj Mahal, the typical masterpiece of what we call Mogul art, many of the principal craftsmen were Hindus, or of Hindu descent; and how much Persian art owed to the frequent importation of Persian artists and craftsmen is never understood by European art-critics. The splendid Muhammadan architecture of Bijapur derived much of its grandeur and beauty from the skilful adaptation of Hindu principles of construction and design. All the great monuments of Saracenic art in India surpass those of Arabia, Turkey, Egypt, and Spain, in the exact measure by which they were indebted to Hindu craftsmanship and inspired by Hindu idealism. The mosques of Cairo and Constantinople seem almost insignificant in design and feeble in construction compared with those of Bijapur, Delhi, Fatehpur-Sikri, and Ahmedabad. The painted stucco and the geometric ingenuity of the Alhambra are cold and monotonous beside the consummate craft and imagination of the Mogul palaces in India. Saracenic art flourished in India just so long as the Mogul Emperors were wise enough to observe perfect impartiality between Musalman and Hindu. When the bigot Aurangzib expelled all the Hindu artists and craftsmen whom his father and grandfather had attracted to the service of the State, the art of the Moguls in India was struck with a blight from which it never recovered. Even in the present day all that is most fine and precious in living Indian art is found in the art inspired by this same *Bhakti* produced by the descendants of the hereditary Hindu temple architects and craftsmen whom Akbar the Great enlisted in his service to carry out all his public works, the imperial palaces, and mosques, as well as durbar halls, offices, stables, and irrigation works. The quality of their craftsmanship is generally in no way inferior to the work of the Mogul time; what they lack are the opportunities given them by the Moguls which we have hitherto refused to them." (Ibid., pp. 118-121).

Again on pp. 140-141, of the same work:—"In architecture, Hindu idealism can give a fresh impulse through dealing with new constructive problems, and Islam modernise its prestige by the magnificence of the mosques built with the aid of Jain and Hindu temple craftsmen. Indian Saracenic architecture testifies not so much to the creative genius of the Moguls as to their capacity for assimilating the artistic life of alien subject races. Christianity might have advanced much more rapidly in India if its leaders had not, with the puritanical intolerance of Aurangzib, refused to allow the genius of Indian art to glorify Christian Church."

A detailed and thorough demonstration and exposition of the idea that what is regarded as Indo-Saracenic Architecture is Indian to a much greater extent than it is Saracenic or Persian, forms the principal theme of Mr. Havell's latest work entitled *Indian Architecture, its Psychology, Structure, and History from the First Muhammadan Invasion to the Present Day*: (John Murray, London: 1913; Price 30s. net). In this monumental work there is a masterly study of the whole subject of Indian Architecture, Hindu and Muhammadan, during the Muhammadan period of Indian history, and, as has been demonstrated by an analysis of the characteristic features and details, are known as the thirteen Indo-Saracenic styles, how all of

ago an announcement appeared in *The Times*² that an influential Committee called the Beaux Arts Committee of London had been formed. It includes many distinguished French and British architects and two of the experts³ who have been called in to advise Government in the matter of the planning of the new Delhi. The object of this Committee is to introduce into this country the system of teaching architecture followed in the ateliers⁴ of Paris, *as the first necessary step towards placing the architecture of Great Britain upon a theoretical basis.*⁵ That is an admission from the highest technical circles that the great building tradition of this country is practically extinct. England must apparently go again to France, as she did in the Middle Ages, for instruction in the art of building. If so, the logical sequence would be to allow French architects to build the new Delhi for us. But is this really necessary? Are we not, as usual, wasting our Imperial opportunities?

6. Thirty years ago, Fergusson, the great authority on Indian architecture, wrote that "architecture in India is still a living art, and there Egypt, Arabia, Persia, or Central Asia. It is that in the eighth and ninth centuries of the Christian era, the time of the first Muhammadan invasions of India, the Hindus were—as both Alberuni and Mahmud of Ghazni bore witness later—the master-builders *par excellence* of Asia, and probably of the whole world. The impact of Islam upon India brought new ideas and stirred Indian builders to new creative efforts, but Hinduism was as superior to Islam in the arts of peace as Islam was to Hinduism in the arts of war. The Arabs, Tartars, Mongols, and Persians who came into India had much to learn from Hindu civilisation, and it was from what they learnt and not from what they taught that Muhammadan art in India became great. The Taj Mahall belongs to India, not to Islam."

2. *The Times* (London), January 3, 1913.

3. Mr. Edwin L. Lutyens, F.R.I.B.A., and Mr. H. V. Lanchester, F.R.I.B.A.

4. *Atelier*—an artist studio in which pupils are trained in any art. "An additional Beaux Art Committee of London," we learn from *The Times* (January 1913), "has been formed to establish ateliers of architecture in this country on the model of the studios associated with the 'Ecole des Beaux Arts' in Paris. A number of French architects are co-operating with their British confreres in introducing into England the Beaux Arts method of training and are assisting in the preparations for opening the first atelier in London." It is necessary to add that the 'Ecole des Beaux Arts' of Paris is a principal institution in France for art education and is under the direction of the Minister of Fine Arts and divided into three sections, those of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture.

5. This portion in italics gives the official view of the Beaux Arts Committee of London and not the individual opinion of Mr. Havell, being taken *verbatim* from *The Times* report of the scheme as explained by the Honorary Secretary of the London Committee, R. Goulburn Lovell, A.R.I.B.A., who "pointed out that the plan was to adopt the French system of teaching, and in order that the proper results may be imparted, the direction would be in the hands of Beaux Arts men. The Committee felt that there was no recognised system of

alone the student of architecture has a chance of seeing the real principles of the art in action."⁶ He confessed that he had learnt more practical architecture from watching the modern Indian builder at work than from reading all the text-books of Europe.⁷ If one could only inspire the natives with a feeling of pride in their work, he said, there seems little doubt that even now he could rival the works of their forefathers.⁷ "No one," he added, "who has personally visited the objects of interest with which India abounds can fail to be struck with the extraordinary elegance of detail and propriety of design which pervades all the architectural achievements of the Hindus, and this not only in buildings erected in former days but in those now in course of erection in those parts of the country to which the bad taste of their European rulers has not yet penetrated."⁸

7. In plain words, the whole proposition is that British architects are justified in applying to their French brethren to pull them out of their archæological quagmire into which they have fallen, but rather

teaching design (in England) and the establishment of the definite principles of the Beaux Arts atelier was the first necessary step towards placing architecture on a sound theoretical basis."

6. Vide *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* by Dr. James Fergusson, D.C.L., F.R.S., &c., &c. (London; John Murray) 1899 edition, pp. 5-6; or 1912 revised edition, (under the editorship of Dr. James Burgess), vol. I, pp. 5-6. The passages to which reference is here made by Mr. Havell are the following — "But more than this, architecture in India is still a living art, practised on the principles which caused its wonderful development in Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries; and there, consequently, and there alone, the student of architecture has a chance of seeing the real principles of the art in action. In Europe, at the present day, architecture is practised in a manner so anomalous and abnormal that few, if any, have hitherto been able to shake off the influence of a false system, and to see that the art of ornamental building can be based on principles of common sense; and that when practised, the result not only is, but must be, satisfactory. Those who have the opportunity of seeing what perfect buildings the ignorant uneducated natives of India are now producing will easily understand how success may be achieved by those who observe what failures the best educated and most talented architects of Europe are constantly perpetrating, may, by a study of Indian models, easily see why this must inevitably be the result. It is only in India that the two systems are now to be seen practised side by side—the educated and intellectual European always failing because his principles are wrong, the feeble and uneducated native as inevitably succeeding, because his principles are right. The Indian builders *think* only of what they are doing, and how they can best produce the effect they desire. In the European system it is considered more essential that a building, especially in its details, should be a correct copy of something else, than good in itself or appropriate to its purpose; hence the difference in the result."

7. Vide Dr. James Fergusson's *History of Indian Architecture*, 1899 edition, p. 475; or 1912 revised edition, vol. II, p. 169.

8. *Ibid.*, 1899 edition, p. 488; or 1912 revised edition, vol. II, p. 170.

than allow Indian master-builders to help them, they should try to pull them into it also. How this can be reconciled with the best traditions of British administration in India I must leave others to explain. The Highest Authority in this land has lately given to India a Message of Hope and goodwill. Surely then it is the bounden duty of British architects to join with Indian builders in making the new Delhi an enduring monument of these generous sentiments, using art as neutral ground upon which East and West can bridge their differences, instead of continuing to entrench themselves behind the walls of prejudice, seclusion and mutual distrust. Architecture may be a profession, a business, an amusement or a fashion, but it can never be a living art unless it is deep-rooted in the soil in which it grows.

8. The practical means of making the best use of the Indian master-builder's intelligence and skill is a technical question which need not be discussed now, but I would commend it to the serious consideration of the London Committee of Beaux Arts. There is no special technical difficulty connected with it which does not occur in Europe. The fundamental principles of the art of building are the same in India as they are in Europe. The same methods which must be adopted by the architect in London to revive the traditions of good building crafts here apply also to the preservation of their vitality in India. The architect who has a thorough grasp of sound architectural principles generally will have no more difficulty in applying them to the study of the classical models of India than he has in the case of European models. In many ways the Indian problem is a much easier one to solve than the English one. It is easier to keep a living craft alive than to re-vitalize a dead one. It is much easier for the European architect to work sympathetically with Indian builders, so as to secure their intelligent and willing cooperation, than it is to work against them when they are dull and mechanical copyists. This is not a question of Indian styles versus European styles, but of sound architectural principles against unsound and dogmatic formulae; of a living art against a dead one; of a craft against a false one; of practical craftsmanship against pretentious theories; of real artistry against the shams and deceptions of fashion and of taste.

(AFTER SLIDES)

9. A short time ago the Government of India instituted an official enquiry into the present state of the Indian building craft, but these

9. A considerable number of photographs of buildings, erected since the middle of the 19th century by the indigenous master-builders, have been reproduced in Mr. Havell's work on *Indian Architecture, its Psychology, Structure, and History from the Earliest Muhammadan Invasion to the Present Day*, (John Murray,

materials for enlarging upon the subject are not yet available.¹⁰ I hope I have at least made clear to you that public opinion has been grievously misled with regard to the condition of Indian architecture in the present day. The examples you have seen prove up to the hilt that beyond the middle of the nineteenth century India could build for herself without European supervision, as well as Europe built in the Middle Ages :—India then possessed a great school of living craft such as Europe has known for many centuries, with all those vital qualities which enable a great tradition of living craftsmanship to adapt itself to the needs of the time in which it lives. I have shown you that building is still one of the most vital of Indian handicrafts, especially in parts of India which are out of the tourist's beaten track, and that there is to be found an abundance of fine architectural craftsmanship such as does not exist anywhere in Europe at the present time. If the evidence on this point is not so strong as it might be, it is not because it cannot be produced, but because no one nowadays thinks it worth while to

London, 1913). The following plates in this work are representative of modern Indian work :—

- Plate cx—A Merchant's House, Bikanir.
 " cxi—Buildings at Jodhpur.
 " cxiv—A Modern Indian Palace, Marwar.
 " cxv—A Modern Indian Palace, Munshi Ghât, Benares.
 " cxvi—A Modern Indian Palace, Ghulâ Ghât, Benares.
 " cxvii—A Modern Hindu Temple, Brindaban.
 " cxviii—A Modern Hindu Temple (Durga Temple, Benares).
 " cxix—Modern Indian Sculpture (Temple at Ramnagar, Benares).
 " cxx—Modern Indian Sculpture, (Ahmety Temple, Benares).
 " cxxi—Modern Master-builder's Bridge, Lashkar.
 " cxxii—Street in a Modern Master-builder's Town (Lashkar).
 " cxxiii—Details of Buildings, Lashkar.
 " cxxiv—A Modern Chhatri, Lashkar.
 " cxxvi—A Modern Master-builder's Railway-Station (Alwar).
 " cxxvii—Modern Indian Sculpture, Puri.
 " cxxviii—Veranda of a Modern House, Puri.
 " cxxix—Gateway of a Modern Temple, Benares.

The collection of photographs reproduced in this book may presumably be taken to have been included among those shown in slides by Mr. Havell at his Lecture in the Little Theatre, London. We may note that Mr. Havell's book was published before the Government Report on Modern Indian Architecture embodying the results of the official enquiry into the subject was published [vide paragraph 9 of this article and the "Supplementary Note" on pp. 25 etc.]. We are, therefore, indebted to the independent efforts of Mr. Havell himself, and to the photographs and other materials—throwing so much needed light on the work of modern Indian Master Builders,—which have been made available through his most valuable and recent work on "Indian Architecture."

¹⁰ Vide *Supplementary Note*, pp. 25 etc.

photograph a building unless it is at least fifty years old. However, in a few months' time I hope the material now available will be largely supplemented by the official investigations now being made."

10. I hold no brief for the Indian Public Works Department, but I have never, like the advocates of a Renaissance Delhi, charged against it that it has so maladministered its official architectural monopoly that in 30 or 40 years it has destroyed the splendid indigenous building tradition of India, or rendered it incapable of serving the public purposes of the present day as it has done in the last 200 years. On the contrary, I know that Public Works officers both in India and in the Native States have been alive to the possibilities of maintaining this great tradition, and there are not a few with long practical experience in India who will bear me out in asserting that if the Government of India will at last make up its mind to establish a consistent and national architectural policy in India, there is no reason why the Indian master-builder should not be given opportunities for maintaining under the British Raj those great traditions which his forefathers created in the service of former rulers of India.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

[W]ide paragraph 9 of Mr Havell's article on "Indian Architecture" (pp 17-25)]

"A short time ago the Government of India instituted an official enquiry into the present state of the Indian building craft, but these materials for enlarging upon the subject are not yet available. I have shown you that building is still one of the most vital of Indian handicrafts, especially in parts of India which are out of the tourist's beaten track, and that there is to be found an abundance of fine architectural craftsmanship such as does not exist anywhere in Europe at the present time. If the evidence on this point is not so convincing as it might be, it is not because that it cannot be produced, but because no one modern would think it worth while to photograph a building unless it is at least fifty years old. However, in a few months' time I hope the material now available will be largely supplemented by the official investigations now being made."

a few
 This lecture by Mr. Havell was delivered on January 27, 1913. In June last the results of the official inquiry were made available to the public in the shape of a "Report on Modern Indian Architecture (1913)" with the following sub-title "Types of Modern Indian Buildings at Delhi, Agra, Allahabad, Lucknow, Ajmere, Bhopal, Bikanir, Gwalior, Jaipur, Jodhpur, and Udaipur, with Notes on the Craftsmen employed on their Design and Execution." Printed at Allahabad by J. H. Luker, Superintendent, Government Press, United Provinces, 1913. (131. 64.)

The official inquiry of which the results are embodied in the above-mentioned Report was the outcome of a suggestion made in a Letter dated 20th November, 1910 from the India Society of London to the India Office, that in view of the importance of investigating the principles and practice of the living art and craft of India the officers of the Archaeological Department might, as a preliminary to a complete survey of living Indian Architecture, be instructed to photograph interesting types of *modern* Indian buildings in the districts in which they are engaged and to note on the craftsmen responsible for their design and construction. The whole point of the inquiry rested on the issue whether India had or had not still a living school of master-builders. For some time past all proposals for the greater employment under official auspices of Indian master-builders with a view to the development of indigenous Indian architecture were met by hostile critics at home and abroad, and especially by Anglo-Indian newspapers with the extremely pertinent remark, "Where are the Indian master-builders?" The Report just issued admittedly "deals only with the local architecture of a small portion of Northern India and that but briefly;" and, as we learn from the "Foreword", it was, "in view of the importance attaching to indigenous architecture in connection with the building of the new Capital of Delhi, which has been decided on since the India Society despatched their letter," rather hastily prepared without collecting full information from all the localities. We understand from the answer given by the India Office to certain questions asked in Parliament by Mr. Joseph King, M.P., that this Report may be taken to be a preliminary volume and that other volumes may be expected in future.—But even within these limitations the Report has done much towards laying at rest the doubts and queries of critics and has considerably strengthened the position advanced in the Letter of the India Society when they observe as follows:—"It is well known that there still exist all over India, especially in the Native States, a number of skilled master-builders descendants of the builders of the famous Hindu and Muslim monuments, who continue to build temples, mosques, traveller's rest-houses, bathing tanks &c., as well as domestic buildings, in the traditional Indian Art. So great an authority as Fergusson has stated that he learned from one of these men of the secrets of architectural art as practised in the Middle Ages than he had learnt from all the books he had read,—and given the opportunities, they could even now rival the works of their forefathers."

The Report embodies the results of inquiries made by Mr. Gordon Sanderson, Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle, Agra, under the direction of Dr. J. H. Marshall, C.I.E., Litt.D., F.S.A., Director-General of Archaeology in India. The photographs, reproduced in Ninety-Three excellently executed Plates, were collected by Mr. Sanderson, and he is also responsible for the descriptive notes which accompany them. Mr. J. Begg, F.R.S.B.A., Consulting Architect to the Government of India, has furnished a very important introductory note on the development of Indian architecture.

The framers of the Report have adopted as their motto the following extract from Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*:—"Architecture in India is still a living Art, practised on the principles which caused its wonderful development in Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries, and there consequently, and there alone, the student of architecture has a chance of seeing the real principles of the art in action." The views expressed by Mr. Begg and Mr. Sanderson on the results of this inquiry into the present condition of indigenous Indian architecture are in full accord with the spirit of Dr. Fergusson's classic observation, as will be evident from the following extracts from the above-mentioned Report:—"These photographs should serve to any one who might have a doubt on the point the fact of the survival to the present day of a living tradition" [From Mr. Begg's "Note on the Development of Indian Architecture," in the *Report on Modern Indian Architecture*, p. 1.]

"The kindest, as well as the truest summing up of the case is to say that the art, though still living, is dormant, and the question with regard to it is this—*is it worth re-awakening? Should we allow it to die the natural death that from one cause or another has overtaken nearly all similar art traditions in other countries, or should we give it a new lease of life?*" (*Ibid.*, p. 2)

"The question is momentous, full of difficulty, not to be hastily dealt with, impossible to be answered without a very careful reviewing of the whole ground, yet imperatively demanding an immediate answer. The time has come for us to think out and declare a definite architectural policy for India; just as we have thought out a railway policy and an educational policy. That is the message which the present burst of public interest in the question of Indian architecture seems intended to convey." (*Ibid.*, p. 2)

"I think the answer must be that the living tradition is an artistic asset of such incalculable value that we cannot afford to allow it to die out; that it is well worth re-awakening, even though the complete process should be lengthy and interim results not acceptable, may be, to all. The architecture may take a hundred years to find itself, and still be "worth while". That it can be so developed, that it can be made to supply all the complex needs of modern India in a manner in conformity at once with sound business principles and with the canons of true art, I have no shadow of doubt." (*Ibid.*, p. 2)

"It is easy to try to brush aside this line of argument by the use of a few witty opprobrious epithets. It is easy to call names, and architectural criticism, so-called, is peculiarly rich in them. One can well imagine that the beginnings of, say, the Italian renaissance were not unattended by vituperation. The earlier products of that movement were probably considered to be illegitimate by the orthodox gothicists of the day. "Sham classicism" they would be called. And while I have no intention of likening the re-awakening of Indian art to Italian renaissance, still I hold that the former has in it inherent potentialities of which it is impossible to foresee (as it is ungenerous to disparage that of India) the ultimate outcome. The truth is a great deal of uncorrected opinion and misunderstanding befog the idea of a developed

Indian style. The advocates of a Western manner propose (quite properly) to adapt their style to the conditions of the country. That is, surely, to Orientalize it. But would not to do so be equally likely to result in a "bastard product" as would, say, the Westernizing of Oriental art? There is, by the bye, a politer synonym for the adjective just quoted—namely "natural." But I am not proposing that we should Westernize Oriental Art, merely that we should modernize it,—a different thing. At Orientalized Western architecture the architect might justly look askance, not so at modernized Oriental architecture. It should be, and should be living art. Nor am I advocating "another futile revival" (one of the ill-names that have been used in the present controversy). The survival of the living tradition is sufficient guarantee against that. Futility in all art movements has been due to a lack of conviction on the part of the artists, a desire merely for novelty in default of inspiration. But where in the world could the architect, who had lived long enough with the art of India to become imbued with a sympathetic understanding of it, find a more inspiring task than the development of that art, and the bringing it up to date? Futility and banality and everything that means failure cannot, of course, be insured against with respect to any work or art movement. I say only that in this one there are fewer elements of danger and more of hope than in most." (*Ibid.*, pp. 2-3)

"Can a developed Indian architecture provide us with buildings that are modern, convenient, economical? I think so. Will they not rather be unpractical and over-ornate? I think not. All depends on the handling of the material, or rather on the architects who handle it. In spite of such individual examples as may be cited to support a contrary view, there is nothing really inherent in Indian art that demands over-elaboration or unpracticality and inconvenience, even in the light of the most diverse and exacting modern requirements. There is no element calling for lavish expenditure that is not fortuitous, or that is not as capable as corresponding elements in other modes of architectural expression of being overcome by skill on the part of the designer." (*Ibid.*, p. 3)

"Therefore I cannot see, if we declare it to be our architectural policy to develop Indian art, that we shall be transgressing the canons either of art or of common sense. To my mind we shall rather be transgressing both, if we do not." (*Ibid.*, p. 4).

"Our declaration of architectural policy could take no more suitable form than that of the manner of design we adopt for New Delhi. Our forefathers of a hundred years ago sounded a certain note in the design of the earlier buildings of Calcutta, but that note has, I think it must be admitted, dwindled too often to a sorry squeak in later examples in the same city. Is it not arguable that this decadence was due to the keynote being out of tune with any indigenous tradition? It was something of the nature of a foreign, exotic, fortuitous, we introduced into India, and this, like other things, added to the danger of revivals. Besides, it typed a period that is past of the mere

Western occupation of the country. It would be a fitting thing if the architectural note we sound in our new Capital were to type the re-awakened India of the present and future. In this matter practical and economical considerations seem to me to join hands with those which are artistic and sentimental. We have got our art—why waste it? We have got our craftsmen—why employ them on work for which they have small aptitude—or (which is what would happen) leave our best craftsmen out altogether? There is no doubt, as I have already said, in an Indian manner of design that makes it costlier. Indeed my own experience goes to prove that the costliest manner in India is a Renaissance or classical one. Again, why should a Western manner be held to type most fittingly the spirit of the Government of India? Why should the style of our Capital be such as to express most strongly those alien characteristics in the administration which every year tend more and more to disappear? And lastly, why sound again a note that is sure to dwindle into decadence as it has done before, rather than one more likely to be worthily sustained by the future generations of indigenous architects for whose advent we might well make it our duty to prepare?" (*Ibid.*, pp 4-5).

"The European architect is apt to be too hard on the Indian members of the profession. It is, perhaps, largely due to the fact that he does not appreciate the fact that native life in Native States has not appreciably changed since Mughal days. There is consequently no marked change in the architecture, which is the expression of that life. The buildings illustrated here reflect the spirit of conservatism. They are suited to their requirements in every respect, and as such are embodiments of living art, with every right to a place in the history of architecture. The men who have been responsible for them possess facilities not only for construction but for design also, as well as a working knowledge of allied crafts such as carpentry and metal work." (From Mr. Sanderson's Notes in the *Report on Modern Indian Architecture*, p. 17)

"In Rajputana, Indian life is very much the same as it was three or four centuries ago, and architecture is still a living art. In spite of the railways, telegraphs, and the visits their rulers and nobles pay so often to Western lands, it is almost purely native, and the building traditions are still unbroken. The buildings of Bikanir, for example, as surely represent the life and character of their occupants as do the low, small windowed and sturdy looking cottages, sheltering from the wind in some depression on a Yorkshire moor. Crowning all is the spacious roof, whereon are spent the stifling summer nights, while below it are the apartments for the *Zanana*, screened from the gaze of the outer world by lace-like screens of perforated stone. Below these is the porch, with a small verandah at either side, wherein the master of the house may see his friends or transact his business, while the whole front is shaded by a series of *chajjas* which, at the sun at meridian, will shade more than half the wall beneath them. In a word, this architecture and the individual features which characterize it are a true expression of true Indian sentiment and of Indian values." (*Ibid.*, pp 20-21)

"Excellent master craftsmen there are in plenty, but they cannot be brought directly under the influence of education, and it is for the architect to guide them." (*Ibid.*, p. 22).

"Let me add that it has been extremely difficult to ascertain any of the names of the craftsmen engaged on the work of these buildings. They are of the humblest class, and several officials, who showed me over these modern buildings, ridiculed the idea of asking for their names and addresses; indeed, several of the men themselves, when asked, looked on me with suspicion and, thinking that I might be on some other quest, gave me wrong addresses. Nor was there any day of a day or two in each place sufficient time in which to get together necessary information. However, if the men are wanted, they can readily be found." (*Ibid.*, p. 6)

"There is no doubt that in *British India* the traditions of design and craftsmanship are in a stage of transition, as the photographs will clearly show, and this is largely due to—I quote the India Society's letter—"the spread of European fashion among the English educated classes in India and to departmental procedure in placing a very high premium upon the work of designers and craftsmen who merely imitate the commercial art of Europe."The truth of the quotation from the India Society's letter is only too well borne out by some of the buildings which are here instanced. Every one who has been in India knows the unhappy erections that are so frequently met with in the "average Cantonment Station." Let us not be too hard on those who built them; for until lately they have seen, springing up in their midst, buildings of the most mediocre architectural quality, and, at the worst, they have been striving after an ideal and endeavouring to express in their buildings the results of European influence." (*Ibid.*, p. 20)

"Some reasons for the inferior quality of the Indian architecture of *British India* have been suggested and the problem remains to find a remedy for this inferiority and at the same time to prevent those parts of India, in which there are as yet no signs of decay, being affected by it." (*Ibid.*, p. 21)

"That the quality of the work of an Indian architect, when he embarks on a scheme involving other than purely native requirements, is not up to the standard of Europe, is owing to the fact that his knowledge of tradition is not backed up by a careful study of architectural history, design, and the use of modern methods of construction." (*Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.)

"At Jaipur, the work of Lala Chiman Lall, the State Architect, calls for remark. His models for work on the new mausolea at Jaipur show originality and in his treatment of the newel and baluster is seen a happy combination of Eastern and Western ideas. Here is an Indian architect erecting, in his traditional style, buildings eminently adapted to the needs and customs of his people." (*Ibid.*, p. 21)

BABU DINESH CHANDRA SEN'S "HISTORY OF BENGALI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE: AN APPRECIATION

BY M. SYLVAIN LEVI, PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE, THE
UNIVERSITY OF PARIS

[NOTE BY THE EDITOR :—Prof. Sylvain Levi was born in Paris, on the 28th March, 1863. After a brilliant career at the University, he was raised to the dignity of a Fellow of Literature (Agrège des Lettres) in 1883 and of a Doctor of Literature, in 1890. A pupil of the celebrated French scholars, Abel Bergaigne and Hauvette-Besnault, he soon made his mark in the field of oriental research, and gradually took his place in the foremost rank of European orientalists. He was successively appointed Lecturer in Sanskrit at the *Ecole des hautes Etudes* (Institute of Higher Studies) in 1886, Lecturer on the Religions of India in the Section of Religious Science in 1887, and Professor of Sanskrit at the *Collège de France* in 1894. Among his varied and numerous learned productions, the most important to us are his *Le Theatre Indien*, which is an exhaustive and masterly treatise on the dramatical literature of India (published in Paris, 1890), and his great History of Nepal in three volumes (*Le Nepal Etude historique d'un royaume hindou*, published in Paris, 1905-1908). His work on the *Hindu Theatre* referred to above is being translated into Bengali and published by instalments in the *Bharati*, a well-known monthly magazine issued from Calcutta. He has contributed original articles of the highest value, too numerous to mention in a short note, to many learned journals, and specially to the *Journal Asiatique*; and numerous critiques on learned works, and articles in the field of oriental research to the pages of the *Revue Critique*. There are also several articles from his pen in the great French Encyclopædia ("Le Grande Encyclopedie") on *India*, *Hinduism*, *the Lokayatas*, *Hipuen Thsang*, and similar other subjects of Indian interest. His thorough mastery of Sanskrit combined, as well with a knowledge of Chinese gives him a unique position among oriental scholars, and specially among those who have devoted themselves to the unravelling of those parts of the history of India which are cleared up by Chinese history and literature, and to the expounding of the theory, principles and history of the *Mahāyana* or Northern Buddhism,—the Buddhism of China and Japan. Extracts from some of his lengthy works, amounting altogether to over a hundred pages of the *Journal Asiatique* were translated into English and published in the

Indian Antiquary for 1896-97; while also English versions by various English scholars of several of his articles on the *Kharoshthi* alphabet, on the missions of the Chinese *Wang Hsien-tse* to India, on the inscriptions of the *Kshatrapa* Kings of Western India, and on similar other subjects, have been published in the pages of the same learned periodical. (*Indic Antiquary* for 1903, 1904, 1906, etc.)]

"Mr. D. C. Sen has devoted his life to the study of Bengali literature. In 1897 he published a history of the Bengali language and literature, written in Bengali, which marks an epoch. Since then he has carried on his researches and has succeeded, with his persevering efforts, in bringing out a mass of forgotten texts, which take us centuries back as far as 1000 A. D. For a neo-Sanskritic language of India, like a neo-Latin language of Europe, it is a glorious and a respectable age. But Bengal has still other claims to put forward. In India, where everything assumes a gigantic appearance, Bengali, hardly known by name to Europe, is a language spoken by 45 million people. And the population of Bengal, more than the whole of the rest of India, has an intelligence, vivid, supple, fine and brilliant. Placed by nature in a happy country, under the heat of the tropical sun, on the banks of immense rivers, they enjoy a simple and easy life. Undoubtedly Bengali would have been reckoned amongst the great languages of Universal Literature, had not Sanskrit at first, and later on Persian (after the Mahomedan conquest) driven it for a long time to the rank of a subject and vulgar language. Though it lost a materialistic fame, it has gained in real and true life. It is in Bengali that we have the enigmatic cult of "Dharma" where Buddhism, though altered in appearance, is hardly concealed under the Brahmanic mask; it is in Bengali that Chandīdasa sang his songs of passionate love, in which religious symbolism barely disguises the ardour of the sense. The pious zeal of the country-folk, the demands of an insatiable practice of recitation provoke numerous translations, the *Rāmāyana*, the *Mahā-Bhārata*, the *Bhāgavata* are in Bengali, retouched and altered, to suit the ever-changing public taste, legends of obscure origin, unknown to Sanskrit, thus find their way into the framework of the epics. The preaching of Chaitanya settled, at the commencement of the 16th century, the fortunes of the Bengali language; around the apostle who preached the cult of Krishna, the new ideal of a religion of love free to all, there sprang up a rich growth of hymns, recitations and poems. But the lofty ideal of Chaitanya was lowered and degraded by his successors. But the language now cut and chiselled, afforded a very rich vehicle of thought. This was the age of court-literature and studied artificiality. Occidental genius, introduced by the British conquest, dislocated and broke up the framework of the past. The new administration would have no more of the dreamers and bards; they wanted clerks and mechanics. Bengali since then has been the vehicle of positive knowledge. But at the very hour when its development was arrested, the genius of Bengal gives birth at once to the rich and the transformed, the past and the

hopes of its future in the glorious personality of Rammohan Roy, an apostle, a thinker, a controversialist, and a man of action, nurtured upon the Upanishads, the Bible, and the Koran. The narrative of Mr. Sen closes in 1850, at the threshold of new Bengal, before the advent of the journalists and novelists.

"One cannot praise too highly the work of Mr. Sen. A profound and original erudition has been associated with a vivid imagination. The works which he analyses are brought back to life with the consciousness of the original authors, with the movement of the multitudes who patronised them and with the landscape which encircled them. The historian, though resting on his documents, has the temperament of an epic poet. He has wisely inherited the lyrical genius of his race. His enthusiastic sympathy vibrates through all his emotions. Convinced as every Hindu is—of the superiority of the Brahmanic civilisation, he exalts its glories and palliates its shortcomings; if he does not approve of them he would excuse them. He tries to be just to Buddhism and Islam; in the main he is grateful to them for their contribution to the making of India. He praises with eloquent ardour the early English missionaries of Christianity; he is even ready to compare Carey with Chaitanya. The appreciation of life, so rare in our book-knowledge, runs throughout the work. One reads these thousand pages with a sustained interest; and one loses sight of the enormous labour which it presupposes; one easily slips into the treasure of information which it presents. The individual extracts quoted at the bottom of the pages offers a unique anthology of Bengali. The linguistic remarks scattered in the excursus abound in new and precious materials. Doubtless a harsh critic may pick up errors of detail mainly amongst the fringes of the subject, in the matter of Buddhism, of ancient history, etc., but the sober and solid virtue of the work will not remain quite unimpaired. Mr. Sen has given to his country a model which it would be difficult to surpass, we only wish that it may provoke in other parts of India emulations to follow it."*

* The above is an English Translation, reprinted from the "Bengalee" newspaper of Calcutta (April 18, 1913), of Professor Sylvain Levi's review of Babu Dinesh Chandra Sen's "History of Bengali Language and Literature," Calcutta, 1911, appearing in the "Revue Critique", of Paris, January, 1913.

BABU DINESH CHANDRA SEN'S "HISTORY OF BENGALI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE"

SOME IMPORTANT POINTS RAISED BY PROF. H. C. CHAKLADAR, M.A.

TO THE EDITOR, DAWN

DEAR SIR,

Babu Dinesh Chandra Sen's *History of Bengali Language and Literature* has been published under the distinguished auspices of the Calcutta University. It is a production of the highest merit and importance. The author has done signal service to the cause of Bengali Language and Literature, and his work has been appreciated not only by our own countrymen, but has also elicited the highest commendations from European *savants* like Prof. Sylvain Levi and Dr. H. Kern. But a number of points raised by Mr. Sen in the First Chapter of his work having seemed to me to be unsound I have taken the trouble of making an independent investigation into them, and am at present of opinion that the conclusions in regard to them to which Mr. Sen has come are presumably inaccurate. I accordingly propose to draw Mr. Sen's attention to them and append the reasons which constitute the basis of my opinion on the points raised. I am fully sensible of the great respect due to Mr. Sen, the worth of whose researches into the Bengali Language and Literature is beyond all cavil, but I feel that a junior collaborator in the same field should not be deterred from bringing before the public the results of investigations of his own for fear of stirring up controversies.

RIPON COLLEGE,

Calcutta,

July 20, 1913

Yours truly,

HARAN CHANDRA CHAKLADAR.

I*

① Was Bengal interdicted by Manu?—On page 4 of his book under the heading—'Bengal Interdicted by Manu'—Babu Dinesh Chandra Sen makes the following observation:—"The codes of Manu, while including Bengal within its geographical boundary of Aryāvarta, distinctly prohibit all contact of the *Ypulus* with this land, for fear of contamination." In support of this statement he has quoted in a footnote on the same page the following verse:—

“अङ्ग-वङ्ग-कङ्किरेषु शौराट्-जम्बवेषु च ।

तोर्विजातां विना गच्छन् पुनः संस्कारवर्हेति ।—Manu”

* In the present article, I have been compelled to adopt *Ypulus* (italicised) for *Ypulus*; and *Ypulus* (italicised) for *Ypulus*. The learned reader will be pleased to make allowance for the difficulties of a writer whose resources are limited by the ordinary Indian Printing Press—H. C. C.

The verse means: "Any one visiting the countries of Anga (modern Bhagalpur district), Vanga (Bengal), Kalinga (Orissa and Ganjam), Saurashtra (Gujrat) and Magadha (Behar), except on pilgrimage, should go through a rite of purification." Mr. Sen has here simply attached to the verse the name of Manu, but has not mentioned the chapter of the Manu-Samhitā where it could be found, nor has he given any references to the particular edition of Manu where the verse was given. None of the editions of Manu that I have been able to consult gives the verse. It could not be found in the text of Manu edited by the renowned German scholar, Dr Julius Jolly, Ph.D., after collating numerous manuscripts. Nor could this verse be traced in the standard English translation of Manu by Prof. G. Bühler in the Sacred Books of the East Series (vol. xxv). I also looked for it in that excellent edition of Manu edited by the late Hon'ble Rao Saheb Visvanāth Nārāyaṇ Māṇḍlik, C.S.I. &c., and published at Bombay with six commentaries; but I have not come across the verse quoted by Mr. Sen either among the original texts in that book, nor in the appendix which furnishes numerous verses quoted in various Sanskrit books on Hindu Law as belonging to Manu but which are not to be found in the available editions or manuscripts of the work. Under the circumstances, the conclusion forces itself upon us that the authority of Manu cannot properly be quoted in connection with this verse. In all likelihood, it occurs in some of the later and minor 'Dharma-Sūtras' or Codes of Law, for I found that it is quoted by Jñānendra Sarasvatī in his commentary, the *Tattvabodhinī*, to the Sanskrit Grammar *Siddhānta Kaumudī* while explaining the *Vārttika-Sūtra* "अदात्तापदान् विभक्त्याः" in the chapter on अकारान्तप्रक्रिया. But even here the author does not say that it is quoted from Manu, but simply says इति अस्मात्, signifying that the verse according to him occurs in one or other of the *Smṛiti* works.

II

Are the Horiuzi (Japan) Manuscripts written in Bengali Character?—

In a footnote at page 2 of his book, Babu Dinesh Chandra Sen remarks that the palm-leaf manuscript of the Buddhistic work, "Ushniṣa Vijaya Dhāraṇī", which is in the Horiuzi temple in Japan, and a facsimile of which has been published in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Aryan Series, No. 111,¹ "is written in a character, which we consider to be identical with that prevalent in Bengal in the 6th century." Mr. Sen has not stated his reasons for thinking so, nor is it evident what particular character is referred

1. *Mānava-Dharma-Sūtra*—The Code of Manu, original Sanskrit Text critically edited according to the Standard Sanskrit Commentaries, with critical notes by J. Jolly, Ph.D.; London, 1887.

2. *Vide* the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* with the *Tattvabodhinī* commentary of Jñānendra Sarasvatī, edited by V. L. Shastri Paṇḍit, 4th edn., Nirṇayaśagar Press, Bombay, 1908, page 449.

3. The Appendix of Palm-Leaves containing the *Prajñā-Pāramitā-Hṛdaya-Sūtra* and the *Ushniṣa Dhāraṇī*, edited by F. Max Müller and Bunyū Nanjio with an appendix of the text, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1884, *Anecdota Oxoniensia*.

to by him as prevalent in Bengal in the sixth century. The alphabet in use in Bengal at the time must have been the Gupta Character which was in use over a considerable portion of India. It is not known that any other special alphabet was in vogue in Bengal, on the other hand, the writing on the Horiuzi palm-leaves resembles, as Prof. G. Buhler has shown, the alphabet in use for several centuries throughout almost the whole of India. I quote from Prof. Buhler's remarks in the appendix added to the work referred to above (p. 88) — "The close agreement of the much later Northern and of numerous inscriptions from all parts of India with the forms on the Horiuzi palm-leaves, shows that this alphabet was not exclusively cultivated by the Buddhists or peculiar to Northern India, but enjoyed a widespread popularity down to the end of the ninth century, and perhaps later. At present it survives only in the Saradā (**शरदा**) of Kasmir, which probably branched off in early times." We see, therefore, that there is no paleographic reason to assign to Bengal in particular the honour of having originally produced the Horiuzi palm-leaves. These palm-leaves are supposed by Prof. Max Muller² to have belonged to Bodhidharma, the twenty-eighth patriarch of Chinese Buddhism. Now, Bodhidharma was the son of a King of Southern India,³ and about A.D. 526, "Bodhidharma, after having grown old in Southern India, reached Canton by sea."⁴ So that if we suppose that the palm-leaf manuscripts were carried by Bodhidharma from Southern India to China, we might expect that the alphabet used in writing them was South Indian, rather than that of Bengal. Therefore, there is consideration which might justify us in assuming that the Horiuzi palm-leaves are written in Bengali characters of the sixth century.

III

(1)

Is Bengali a Rāṣṭhī Language?—On pages 4 and 5 of his book, Babu Dinesh Chandra Sen makes the following remarks relative to the particular group of Prakrits to which the vernacular dialect of Bengal has been assigned by the grammarians. I have taken the liberty of quoting this rather lengthy extract from Mr. Sen's work in order to give his argument in full. "The Buddhist priests had already, in the latter part of the tenth century, begun to write books in Prakrits called the Gouda Prakrits. This Prakrit was called by the grammarian Krishna Pandit, who flourished in the twelfth century, the form of Paisāhī Prakrit or a Prakrit spoken by the evil spirits. The rules specified by him, in his celebrated grammar Prakrit-Chandrikā, as peculiar to our dialect, apply to it up to this day. According to him **र** and **व** change into **ब** and **भ**, and **व** is pronounced as **भ** in this form of Prakrit, and of **ब**, **भ**, **व**, one form only is found in current use. These are, generally

² Vide Prof. Max Muller's Letter printed in the Transactions of the Sixth International Congress of Orientalists at London, pp. 124-125.

³ Vide *Chinese Buddhism* by Rev. J. Edkins, D.D., p. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

speaking, the characteristic features of spoken Bengali up to this day and our old manuscripts are full of examples of them. The reasons which made Krishna Pandit give our language the contemptuous name of Paisāchī Prākṛita, are not far to seek. It is the same that made Manu condemn all touch with this land. The dialect of the Buddhist people, in which the Buddhist priests were writing books, could not be accepted by the Sanskritic school which arose with the revival of Hinduism." Again, on page 10 of his book, Mr. Sen speaks of "the despicable Paisāchī Prākṛita of Bengal." Mr. Sen appears to think of the term Paisāchī (পৈশাচী) as being a specially contemptuous term coined by the grammarian Krishna Pandit and applied to the vernacular dialect of Bengal because it was used by Buddhist priests in writing certain books. Now, with all deference to Mr. Sen's authority I beg to point out that besides containing minor inaccuracies with regard to the date of Krishna Pandit and the importance of his book as a work on Prākṛita grammar, the statement by Mr. Sen quoted above sets forth opinions which are not substantiated by facts. I shall show below that the phonetic peculiarities noted by Mr. Sen as belonging to Paisāchī Prākṛita are most of them, characteristics of Māgadhī Prākṛita, according to the Prākṛita grammarians, not excluding Krishna Pandit himself, who appears to hold views different from those for which Mr. Sen holds him responsible; and that it is of Māgadhī Prākṛita, that Bengali is considered to be an offshoot, according to modern scholars. It will also be seen that the term Paisāchī is as old at least as the third century B.C., and that whatever may have been its origin, the name had nothing to do with Buddhism or Buddhist priests at all.

(2)

Before proceeding to discuss whether Bengali is a Paisāchī or a Māgadhī Prākṛita, it would be desirable to speak a few words about the main classification of the Prākṛita languages. According to the Indian grammarians, the word Prākṛita means a language which has for its *प्रकृति* or origin Sanskrit,¹ and it is divided generally into four classes, viz., Māhārāshṭrī (महाराष्ट्री), which was Prākṛita *par excellence*, Saurasēnī (सौरसेनी), the language of Central India, Māgadhī (मगधी) and Paisāchī (पैशाची). This is the classification adopted by the oldest and the most authoritative of Prākṛita grammars, viz., the Prākṛita Prabhāsa (प्राकृतप्रभाषा) of Vararuchi, who is also known by his *gotra* or family name as Kātyāyana and is now believed by European scholars generally to be the same person as the celebrated author of the *Vārttikas* on Pāṇini's grammar.² Old Indian authors, grammarians, lexicographers and others speak of it indifferently as either Vararuchi or Kātyāyana. The German scholar, Jacob Hackernagel whose grammar of the Sanskrit language, *Altindische Grammatik* (or Ancient

1. Hemachandra says in his grammar (1, 1), प्रकृतिः संस्कृतम् । तद्वत्त्वं तस्य प्राकृतम्, that is, 'The *प्रकृति* or origin is Sanskrit; that which is derived from it or comes out of it, is Prākṛita.'—Vide *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen* by Dr. F. Pischel, Leipzig, 1900; page 1.

Indian Grammar) is considered by European scholars to be the best of its kind and the most exhaustive, places Katyayana or Vararuchi in the third century before Christ.³ Vararuchi's great work has been published by Prof. E. B. Cowell with the commentary, Manoramā of Bhamaha, and also with notes and an English translation. The Prākṛita grammarians who flourished after Vararuchi generally accept Vararuchi's classification, some of them like the celebrated Jaina author, Rāmachandra, adding to the list, āṛsha (आर्ष) or ārdhamāgadhī, (अर्धमागधी) that is, Prākṛitapaisachika (प्रक्रितपैशाचिक) and Apabhraṃsa (अपभ्रंश), which are rather small classes of Prākṛita. All the Prākṛita grammarians from Vararuchi downwards have given rules specifying the changes that Sanskrit words undergo in each of the various forms of Prākṛita.

(3)

Now let us proceed to examine with the help of the Prākṛita grammarians how far the phonetic changes mentioned by Mr Sen would justify us in assuming Bengali to be a Paisācī dialect. We shall begin with Krishna Pandit whom Mr. Sen has cited as his authority. Mr. Sen has not told us whether he consulted Krishna Pandit's work, the Prakritachandrika in a manuscript or in a printed form. So far as I am aware, the whole of the *Prākṛitachandrika* has not been published anywhere, but large extracts from it have been included by Professor Peter Peterson at pages 342-348 of his *Third Report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Circle, April 1884—March 1886*. Krishna Pandit did not flourish in the twelfth century as laid down by Mr. Sen, but towards the end of the fifteenth. His uncle Rāmachandrāchāryya on whose work, the *Prākṛityakamudī*, he wrote a commentary, has been placed by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar at about 1450 A.D., also according to Dr. Bhandarkar, Krishna's family "belonged to the Andhra country or, in other words, it was a family of Tailanga Brahmins devoted to the study of the Rīgveda and belonging to the Kaundinya Gotra."

3 Vide *Altindische Grammatik* von Jacob Wackernagel, Teil I, Lautlehre. Göttingen, 1896, p. 15.

4 Vide *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1883-84* by Dr. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., Bombay, 1887, pages 58-59. Vide also *A Fourth Report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Circle, April 1886-March 1892*, by Professor Peter Peterson, page xvii. In his note on Krishna Pandit, Professor Peterson observes, "Krishna was author also of a commentary to the *Prākṛityakamudī* of Rāmachandra." For our author see Bhandarkar's Report, 1883-84, p. 59. According to Bhandarkar, Rāmachandra, who was our author's nephew, lived about 1150 A.D.⁵ This date given by Prof. Peterson is evidently a slip, inasmuch as the Report of Dr. Bhandarkar to which he refers us expressly mentions the date as 1450. Moreover, Prof. Peterson has made a confusion between the uncle and the nephew, as according to the genealogical table of Krishna's family given by Dr. Bhandarkar in the report referred to above, Krishna was the nephew of Rāmachandra and not vice versa. As Krishna wrote a commentary on Rāmachandra's work, he must have been considerably younger than the latter.

As regards Mr. Sen's statement that Krishna Pandit's *Prākṛitachandrikā* was a 'celebrated grammar', the fact appears to be that it was apparently a children's manual, as the author himself says: "विद्युद्वरी कुं" शिशुवर्णनम्— "I am preparing the *Prākṛitachandrikā* for the sake of children" (Prof. Peterson's *Third Report*, p. 343). The celebrated German scholar, the late Dr. Pischel, in his well-known work *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen* calls the *Prākṛitachandrikā*, 'eine dürftige arbeit'— 'a poor work' (page 44). The work consists of sutras in verse and a commentary in prose by the Pandit himself and contains numerous extracts from other grammarians such as Bharata, Bharṇi, Hemachandra, Viśwanātha etc.

Now, in the extracts from the *Prākṛitachandrikā* given by Prof. Peterson in his *Third Report* (p. 344), we find the following express statement of Krishna Pandit:—"मगधर्णं रल्ल ङ, ङः ङी, ङी ङः, रेङ्गे ङ ङङ्गते"—"In Māgadhī र is found to be changed into ङ, ङ into ङ, ङ into ङ and ङि or the nominative affix into ङि or the locative form." Here, then, we find the author cited by Mr. Sen himself as his authority speaking of two of the characteristics of Bengali viz, the change of र into ङ and of ङ into ङ as belonging to Māgadhī and not to Pāisācī as Mr. Sen would have us believe. In fact these two changes have been mentioned by all Prākṛita grammarians as we shall show below, as the principal distinguishing characteristics of Māgadhī. The celebrated grammarian Hemachandra who flourished 1088—1172 A.D., and whose work, the *Siddha Hemachandra*, is called by Dr. Pischel as "by far the most important of all the Prākṛita grammars yet published," gives the rule रङीरेङी i.e. "ङ and ङ are respectively substituted for र and ङ" (*Siddha-Hemachandra*, Adhyaya VIII, Pada IV, Sutra 288).⁵ Kramadīvara who is supposed by Prof. Pischel to have lived before Hemachandra, gives the following two rules in the eighth chapter styled *Prākṛitapāda* of his grammar called *Samkshipta-sūtra*:—"मगधर्णं ङी ङः ॥ १ ॥ and री ङ ॥ २ ॥, i.e. "In Māgadhī ङ is substituted for र and ङ, and ङ for र".⁶

Another Prākṛit grammar, the *Prākṛitarūpavāṭara*, based on the *Vālmikisūtra* by Śimharāja son of Samudrabandhayajvan, has the following about the Māgadhī:—"मगधर्णं ङी ङः ॥ १ ॥ री ङ ॥ २ ॥"—"ङ and ङ are respectively substituted for र and ङ, and ङ for र".

5 Hemachandra's book is named *Siddha-Hemachandram*, being dedicated to Siddharāja and written by Hemachandra; the first seven chapters of this work deal with Sanskrit grammar and the eighth is devoted to Prākṛita grammar. The eighth chapter again is divided into four *padas* of which the fourth treats of the various classes of Prākṛita. It has been published by Mahābala Kṛishna, Bombay, Samvat 1939 and also in two parts by Prof. R. Pischel, Halle, 1877 and 1880. Hemachandra's Sūtras about the Māgadhī Prākṛita have also been given in Prof. Cowell's edition of Vararuchi's *Prākṛitaprakāśa*, p. 181.

6 Vide Prof. G. Lassen's *Institutiones Linguae Prākṛiticae*—Bonn, 1827, page 293; it is a work written in Latin on Prākṛita Grammar, furnishing extracts from many of the Indian grammarians. The entire *Prākṛitapāda* of Kramadīvara was also translated by Rājā Rajendralāla Mitra in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. A new edition of the *pāda* was also published in Calcutta in 1889.

अवतः । 'In Māgadhi, ञ and ञ are substituted respectively for ञ and र.' On the other hand, -Simharāja's grammar gives under Paisāchi the sūtra "अवोऽः," i.e. "अ is substituted for ञ and ञ in Paisāchi";⁸ this records a linguistic process which is the direct opposite of that obtaining in Bengali.

We now turn to the oldest Prākṛita grammar, the *Prākṛitaprakāśa* of Vararuchi. Vararuchi gives in *Sūtra* 3 of the eleventh chapter of his book which deals with the Māgadhi Prākṛita, the rule—'अवोः ञ,' i.e. 'अ is substituted for ञ and ञ in Māgadhi';⁹ and also under *Sūtra* 5 of the same chapter, the *Prākṛitaprakāśa* furnishes as examples the Māgadhi forms पञ्चिष्य and निज्जये for the Skṛit words परिष्य and निज्जरः, showing the substitution of अ for र in Māgadhi.¹⁰

Coming down to our own times, we find Dr. G. A. Grierson stating, that "In Māgadhi ञ becomes ɹ. Here also ञ and ञ become ञ, a peculiarity still preserved by the modern Bengali."¹¹ also Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar says, "The Bengali reduces all the sibilants to ञ like the speakers of the Māgadhi."¹²

From what we have said above, there cannot be any doubt that the rule of substitution of अ for र and of ञ for ञ and ञ, belong to Māgadhi Prākṛita and not to Paisāchi as averred by Mr. Sen, and further we have shown that Krishna Pandit himself on whose authority Mr. Sen avowedly relies is of the very same opinion.

(4)

We shall next take up the other two phonetic changes mentioned by Mr. Sen, viz., the pronunciation of ञ as ञ and of ञ as ञ. From the extracts from Krishna Pandit's book given by Prof. Peterson, I cannot find what the Pandit says of them. By the other Prākṛita Grammarians from Vararuchi downwards,

7. Vide *Prākṛitarūpavārtana* edited by E. Hultzsch, London, 1909, page 88. Simharāja's work is a redaction and a commentary of an old grammar known as the *Vālmikisūtras*, after the manner of Bhaṭṭojdikṣita in his *Siddhāntakaumudī*. Dr. Hultzsch says in the introduction to his book (p. 14), "Simharāja did not compose the rules themselves, but drew on the same collection of sūtras which, in their original sequence, are known to have been commented on by Trivikrama, just as Pāṇini's aphorisms by the authors of the Kaṅka commentary." The date of the Vālmikisūtras is not known; that of Trivikrama sometime between the 13th and the 15th centuries. Simharāja is known to be later than Bhaṭṭojdikṣita.

8. Ibid., p. 92.

9. Vide *The Prākṛita-Prakāśa* or 'The Prākṛita grammar of Vararuchi with the commentary of Manoramā of Bhāmaha. With notes and an English Translation by E. Cowell, M.A., Second issue. London, 1868; pp. 89 and 179. See also Lassen, op. cit., p. 391.

10. Cowell, op. cit., pp. 89 and 179.

11. Vide *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition, vol. xxii, article *Prākṛit* by Dr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt.

12. Vide *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xvii, 1887-1889; p. 181; article-headed *Phonology of the Vernaculars of India* by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D.

however, the change of initial *ṣ* into *ṣ* is given as a general rule for most of the Prakṛita such as Māhārāṣṭrī, Ardhamāgadhī, Śaurasēṇī, Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī, Jaina Śaurasēṇī, etc.¹³ An exception is made in the case of Paisācī, so that it could never have been a characteristic of that form of Prakṛita suggested by Mr. Sen. In Māgadhī also initial *ṣ* does not become *ṣ* but about Māgadhī, "Hemachandra says," I quote from Dr. Grierson, "that *Lakkhi* was pronounced and written in Māgadhī *Lakkhi*, *bhaktā* as *bhatta*, *śṣṣara* as *śṣṣara*, *bhṣya* as *bajjha*."¹⁴ The last example shows that in some cases at least the Māgadhī followed the modern Bengali practice of pronouncing a conjunct ending in *ṣ* as a double consonant. We may note also that all the other phonetic changes mentioned by Hemachandra in the above passage agree with those of modern Bengali. Again, the peculiarity of changing *ṣ* into *ṣ* is found as a characteristic of the old Prakṛita dialect of Eastern Bengal known to Prakṛita grammarians as *Dhakki* or *Dhakkadesiyā Apabhramsa* which is supposed by Prof. Lassen¹⁵ as well as Prof. Pischel¹⁶ to have been so named from Dacca in Eastern Bengal. In the Sanskrit drama, *Mṛichchhakatika*, we find two of the characters *Māthura* and *Dyutakara* speaking in this *Dhakki* Prakṛita, as Prithivdhara says in his commentary on that drama—अपभ्रंश-प्रपञ्चेन चतस्र एव भाषायाः प्रयुज्यन्ते—अकारो वाङ्मात्रो घावरो टवदेवोवा । * * * टवभाषायाः चतस्रो वाङ्मात्रावकारौ—viz. *Sakāṛī* *Chāndālī* *Sabārī*, and *Dhakkadesiyā*. * * *Māthura* and *Dyutakara* speak in the language of *Dhakka*." We find in the Second act, *Dyutakara* changing the Sanskrit word *बहि* into *जह*, *यज्य* into *जह*, *यावत्* into *जावत्* etc. It is perhaps the influence of this *Dhakki* that has converted the Sanskrit *ṣ* into *ṣ* in modern Bengali.

It is only in the change of *ṣ* into *ṣ* in modern Bengali that we meet with a Paisācī characteristic, Vararuchi has, in the chapter on Paisācī, the rule *षीनः*—that is, *ṣ* is substituted for *ṣ* in Paisācī.¹⁷ But if this is so, we must not forget that the same is also the characteristic of modern Hindi, and of some of the dialects of Marāṭhī, for as Dr. Bhandarkar observes, "The Hindi people and the Konkan lower classes pronounce *ṣ* as *ṣ* like the

13. Vide Pischel, op. cit., pp. 175-176.

14. Vide *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. v, part i: Compiled and edited by G. A. Grierson, Calcutta, 1903; p. 15.

15. Vide Lassen, op. cit., Appendix, p. 7. Lassen reads the word as *Takki*, and says, "Takki, *niskfallor idioma provincial Dacca in Bengalia Oriens*—that is, "Takki is, if I am not mistaken, the provincial dialect of Dacca in Eastern Bengal."

16. Pischel, op. cit., p. 25.

17. Vide *Mṛichchhakatika*, published by the Nirnayasagara Press, First edition Bombay, 1902. pp. 55, 66, etc. About *Dhakki*, Prithivdhara has also the following: "अकारो वाङ्मात्रो घावरो टवदेवोवा" (See Stenzler's edition of *Mṛichchhakatika*, Bonn, 1847, p. v. etc.) From this remark of Prithivdhara we find that the characteristics of Māgadhī about *ṣ* and *ṣ* also existed in *Dhakki*.

18. Pischel, op. cit., p. 86; and Lassen, op. cit., p. 440.

speakers of Paisāchi.¹⁹ But no body can contend that either Hindi or Maithili is a Paisāchi dialect. Neither is Bengali, in seeing that the principal characteristic of Paisāchi, on the authority of Vararuchi,²⁰ viz., that in place of the third and fourth letters of each *Varga* or class, we must use the first and second respectively, as in the examples राजा for राज, बेबी for बेच, बहिन for बचि, गजनन for गजन, बहन for बह etc., does not exist in the case of Bengali at all. And in the case of the sibilants, as we have already shown, Paisāchi follows a quite different rule from Bengali.

(5)

From what I have said above, it is clear that Bengali belongs to Māgadhi Prakṛta and modern linguists also fully uphold this view. Dr. G. A. Grierson, the distinguished editor of the "Linguistic Survey of India," published by the Government of India says,²¹ "There is no doubt about the fact that it is from some eastern form of this Māgadhi language (or Prākṛit, as it is called) that Bengali is directly descended." And in another place we read—"Māgadhi is the parent of all the languages of the Eastern group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars. Just as the Eastern vernacular of Asoka's time branched out into a number of dialects, of which Māgadhi was the principal one, so Māgadhi in the course of centuries has, in its turn, developed into four separate languages, of which Bengali and Bihari are the principal. Indeed this process of fission had already commenced during Prakṛit times, for the latest indigenous grammarians of that language mention among the varieties of Māgadhi, a Gaudī, a Dhakkī, and an Utkālī (Oḍṛī). Beharī is the direct descendant of Māgadhi and is spoken in its original home. Gaudī is the parent of the Bengali of Northern Bengal and Assamese. Spreading to the South-east, Māgadhi developed into the Bengali of the Gangetic Delta, and still further towards the rising sun, Dhakkī (or the Māgadhi of Dacca) became the modern Eastern Bengali. Oriyā is the representative of the ancient Utkālī." The distinguished European scholar and linguist, Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle also says,²² "Māgadhi is the speech of modern Bihar and (western) Bengal and corresponds generally to the present Bangālī (inclusive of the Eastern Hindi dialects, the Māgadhi and Maithilī)." Prof. Pischel also agrees with this view.

(6)

We require further to inquire,—in what parts of India the Paisāchi dialects were spoken,—and that from geographical considerations also it can be seen that Bengali could never have been a Paisāchi

19. Journal Bombay Br. R. A. S., vol. xvii, p. 181.

20. Cowell, op. cit., p. 86.

21. Vide *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. v, part 1, page 5.

22. Vide *A Grammar of the Eastern Hindi Compared with the Other Gandhian Languages* by A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, Ph.D., London, 1880.

23. Pischel, op. cit., p. 10.

dialect. "The principal modern Paisāchi languages," says Dr. Grierson, "are three or four spoken in Kashmir, Khowar, of Chitral, Shina, of Gilgit, Kashmiri and Kohistani. The last two are border tongues, much mixed with the neighbouring languages of India proper. The only one which has any literature is Kashmiri. The rest are entirely uncultivated." Further, there is reason to believe that according to Indian grammarians also the Paisāchi Prākṛita was the language of the border provinces of India, the people of which were known as the Pisāchas. A Prākṛita grammarian Lakṣmidhara says in his grammar, the *Shad-bhāṣhī-chandrikā* विषाचदेशनिवृत्तं पुरा तत्र विदुः विषाचदेशात् इवैवताः—गच्छा-नेत्रव-पाद-लोच-व-पाद-कृतान् तदाचारैश्च-चलोचमाकृतां । एते रेवाचदेशाः द्वाः । Translation : Two kinds of Paisāchi are known in the Pisācha country. The Pisācha countries are enumerated as follows by ancients —Pāndya (in southern India), Kekaya (identified by Dr. Grierson with the Western Panjab), Būhlika (Balkh, Bactria), Sahya, Nepal, Kuntala, Sudesha, Bhota, Gāndhara (N W India and Afghanistan), Haiva and Kanojana. These are the Pisācha countries." Most of these names belong to countries in the north and north-west of India except Pāndya and Sahya which are in southern India it does not appear what is meant by the words *Haiva* and *Kanojana*. The reading of the verse which is taken from an extract in Lassen's *Institutiones Linguae Prākṛiticae*, is evidently corrupt. The foregoing considerations clearly show that the Paisāchi language was spoken in border countries mostly in the north-western and northern India ; while between the speakers of Paisāchi and those of Magadhī intervened the speakers of Sauraseni, which corresponds to the modern Western Hindi dialects spoken in Central India, Rajputana and the neighbouring districts, and which according to Vararuchi was the *Prākṛiti* or origin²⁰ of Paisāchi, so that Paisāchi had nothing to do with Māgadhī or its derivative dialect, Bengali.

From what we have said above, it is evident that the statement by Mr. Sen that the name Paisāchi was given to Bengali out of contempt for it, by reason of Buddhistic works having been written in it, requires hardly any refutation. As we have already seen, the term was used by Vararuchi in the third century B. C., when there was hardly any Buddhist literature at all, and when the Buddhists formed but an insignificant Hindu sect. Moreover, from the fact that Vararuchi devotes a whole chapter of his great work to the elucidation of the phonetic peculiarities of the Paisāchi Prākṛita, proves beyond doubt that the term had acquired a very clearly defined significance at the time that Vararuchi wrote, and that therefore its origin must be looked for at a far more ancient date ; perhaps it was older than Buddhism itself. The ancient origin of the term Paisāchi and the great vogue enjoyed by the tongue denoted by

24. Vide *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition, vol. xiv, p. 487. Article *Indo-Aryan Languages* by G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., Ph.D., &c.

25. Lassen, op. cit., Appendix, p. 13.

26. Cowell, op. cit., p. 86. Vararuchi has the following two sutras at the beginning of his ch. x :—प्राकृतिः कीरेवो १५५ and प्राकृतिः कीरेवो १५५

it is also apparent from the fact that the celebrated and huge collection of tales, entitled *Brihatkathā* or the 'Great Story Book' was written in the Paisācī dialect about the first century A. D., by Guṇādhyā who is supposed to have been minister of the Andhra King Hāla. That this Paisācī dialect, instead of being looked down upon with contempt by Sanskrit scholars, was, on the contrary, looked up to with respect, becomes evident to us when we see that two great poets, of the calibre of Kshemendra and Somadeva translated or paraphrased portions of this Paisācī work into Sanskrit for the delectation of those who were unable to enjoy it in Guṇādhyā's original. An idea of the huge bulk of this extensive original work in Paisācī may be formed from the statement of Somadeva that it consisted of one lakh verses, and Somadeva's own Sanskrit paraphrase which does not profess to be a rendering of the whole of the work, consists of twenty-four thousand stanzas. ²⁷

(7)

It is clear that none of the statements made by Mr. Sen in the passage I have extracted from his book (*vide p. 46*) is tenable. There is, however, one passage in Krishna Pandit's work which apparently might lend some colour to Mr. Sen's statement but, as will be presently shown, does not really support it.

काव्यदेशीयपाञ्चोप पाञ्चालं गौड्यामगं ।

ब्राह्मण-दाक्षिणातं च ग्रीखेनं च केकयम् ।

शावटं द्राविडं चैव एकादश पिशाचकाः ॥

The above may be rendered into English thus: "The languages viz. Kāñchidesiya, Pāndya, Pāñchāla, Gauda, Māgadha, Brāhṇanda, Dākshinātya, Saurasena, Kaikaya, Sābata, and Drāvida form the eleven Pisācha languages." It will be observed that in this passage almost all the languages of India except only Mahārashtri are included amongst the Paisācī tongues. From what we have spoken above about the classification of the Prākṛita languages since the time of Vararuchi, it will be reasonable to hold that such a sweeping generalisation is quite inadmissible, and is against the expressed views of all the grammarians. Krishna Pandit does not certainly hold this view himself seeing that at the commencement of his work (verse 10) he classifies the Prakṛita languages as follows ²⁸:

तत्तत्तं नामग्री ग्रीखेनो पैशाचिको दश ।

ब्रह्मपैशाचिकं पाण्ड्यं चैति चन्द्रविभम् ।

"Paisācī is of six kinds viz., Arsha, Māgadhi, Sauraseni, Paisācīkī, Chulikā, and Apabhṛamsa." Further, in the body of his work he enumerates the peculiarities of each of these classes. This certainly shows that

²⁷ Vide an article headed *On the Vrihatkatha of Kshemendra* by Prof. G. Bühler in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 1, 1872, pp. 302-309. See also Prof. Bühler's *Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit Mss. made in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India*, issued as an extra no. of the *Journal Bombay Br. R. A. S.*, 1877 pp. 46-47.

²⁸ Prof. Peterson's Third Report, p. 343.

he did not consider the Sauraseni and Māgadhi to be included in Paisāchi. Furthermore we note that the passage about the eleven Paisāchikas has been introduced by him with the remark *সদৃশ*, or, "Thus it is said," showing very clearly that the passage owed its origin to some outside source, and that it did not embody any opinion of his own. Mr. Sen has therefore no adequate reason for holding Krishna Pandit responsible for it. Krishna Pandit has not given the name of this author whom he quotes, and what this unknown author means by such a sweeping generalisation, it is impossible to understand until it can be traced to its original and studied with reference to its context.

(8)

I have only to consider in this connection another loose statement made by Mr. Sen on page 8 of his book, where he speaks of the Sanskrit scholars' "contempt for Bengali which was one of the most lax forms of the Arddhamagadhi Prakrita." I am unable to account for this new designation of Arddhamagadhi given to Bengali except on the supposition that he thought that Arddhamagadhi was a synonym for Paisāchi. Mr. Sen, it will be seen is here equally unfortunate in the application of this new name to Bengali. Arddhamagadhi was a name given by the grammarians to a mixture of Magadhi with Māharashti²⁹ or with Sauraseni;³⁰ it is also otherwise defined by certain grammarians as the language to which the rules about the phonetic changes of Magadhi did not fully apply.³¹ It is also claimed by the Jainas that the founder of their faith, Mahāvira preached in this language³². Anyhow it has no connection with Paisāchi or even with Bengali, but was spoken in the tract between the Magadhi and Sauraseni-speaking areas. Dr. Hoernle says,³³ "Arddhamagadhi is described as a mixture of Magadhi and Sauraseni (or Māharashti), it follows that it must have been spoken to the west of Māgadhi, i.e. in the Banaras District, it corresponds, therefore, to the Bhojpuri or the Eastern Hindi proper." Prof. Sten Konow, the well known Norwegian scholar, also speaks about Arddhamagadhi as "the dialect in which the sacred books of the Jainas are written, probably based on the old vernacular spoken about and to the east of the modern Allahabad."

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29. Kramadīwara says in the chapter on Māgadhi in his *Sankshiptasāra*, "महाराष्ट्रीमिश्रादं मागधी" or "Arddhamagadhi is a mixture of Māharashti with Māgadhi."—*Vide Lassen op. cit.*, p. 393.

30. *Vide Hoernle, op. cit.*, p. cx, foot-note and p. xxiv.

31. Abhayadeva, a commentator of some of the Jaina religious works, says *सहं मागधीभाषा यस्यां रसीकृतो मागधीमिश्रादिर्लक्षणमागधीपरिपूर्णः*—i.e. "The Arddhamagadhi language is that in which the rules about the substitution of *ह* and *ख* for *र* and *स* etc., as in Māgadhi, do not fully apply." *Vide Pischel, op. cit.*, p. 33.

32. One of the Jaina holy works, the *Samavāyāyasutta*, has—*महोदयं वचं महामहोदय भाषाय वचं*—i.e. "Verily the lord preached the faith in the Arddhamagadhi language." Also, the *Uvavāyāyasutta*, another Jaina canonical work, says—*महोदयं महामहोदय भाषाय वचं*, "The Lord Mahāvira spoke in the Arddhamagadhi tongue." *Vide Pischel, op. cit.*, p. 14.

33. *Vide Hoernle op. cit.*, p. xxvi.

34. *Indian Antiquary*, 1903, p. 181.

OPINIONS ON GRIHASTHA

উচ্চ শ্রেণীর সচিত্র মাসিক পত্র

‘আলোচনা-অংশ’ ইত্যাদি বিষয়ে

চতুর্থ বর্ষ চলিতেছে

বার্ষিক মূল্য ডাক মানুল সমেত দুই টাকা মাত্র।

‘গৃহস্থ’ গৃহস্থের উপযোগী কাগজের কথায় পরিপূর্ণ। নব-প্রকাশিত “আলোচনা” নামক অধ্যায়ে, বহু প্রয়োজনীয় বিষয়ের আলোচনা করা হয়। প্রবন্ধ ও “কবিতাগৌরবে গৃহস্থের স্থান বহু উচ্চে। প্রতি সংখ্যায় অন্ততঃ রয়েল বার শব্দী এবং বহু সংখ্যক ছবি থাকে। গৃহস্থ সম্বন্ধে বিভিন্ন দেশের নানা শ্রেণীর ব্যক্তি ও পত্রিকার মন্তব্য হইতে কয়েকটি মাত্র নিয়ে প্রকাশিত হইয়াছে।

১। বঙ্কবাসী বলেন—“‘পাগল’ প্রবন্ধটি সুলিখিত। ইহাতে শিখিবার কথা আছে। গৃহস্থের চিত্রসম্বন্ধা সুন্দর।”

২। মেদিনীপুর হিতৈষী বলেন—“‘গৃহস্থ’ গৃহস্থের উপযুক্ত বহু উপাদেয় প্রবন্ধ থাকে। শ্রদ্ধা-অর্থ-কাম মোক্ষ চতুর্কর্গেই গৃহস্থের প্রাধান্য। সেইজন্য ‘গৃহস্থ’ চতুর্কর্গের ব্যবস্থা করিয়াছেন। এ সুযোগে বঞ্চিত হওয়া কাহারই কর্তব্য নহে।”

৩। খুলনার পঞ্জীচিত্র বলেন—“গৃহস্থ উচ্চ শ্রেণীর সচিত্র মাসিক পত্রিকা। ‘গৃহস্থ’ উত্তরোত্তর আদর্শ গৃহস্থ হইয়া গৃহস্থ পূজাৰ্জন করিতেছেন। আমরা অত্যন্ত আনন্দিত হইয়াছি। যে গৃহস্থ এ গৃহস্থকে সমাদর করিবে তাহার লক্ষ্মীশ্রী পরিবর্ধিত হইবে। আমরা এই পত্রিকাখানির বহুল প্রচার কামনা করি। সমস্তগুলি প্রবন্ধই মনকে শ্রীভগবানের দিকে আকৃষ্ট করে। পত্রিকাখানি অসার কথায় মন মত্তাবার মত নহে।”

৪। হিতবাদী বলেন—“গৃহস্থের বর্তমান সংখ্যায় (ফাল্গুন) মহাকবি অবধোষের ‘সৌন্দর্যনন্দ’ নামক কাব্য সম্বন্ধে আলোচনা করা হইয়াছে। বাঙ্গালী পাঠকের সহিত সৌন্দর্যনন্দের ও অবধোষের পরিচয় বড় অল্প, এমন কি নাই বলিলেই হয়, শ্রীযুক্ত পঞ্চর ভট্টাচার্য মহাশয় পরিচয় করাইয়া দিয়া বাঙ্গালীর ধর্মবাহিতাংশন হইয়াছেন।”

৫। কলিকাতার শাস্ত্রিক বলেন—“গৃহস্থ দেখিয়া আমরা উত্তরোত্তর স্বপ্ন হইতেছি। গৃহস্থের ছাপা ভাল, কাগজ ভাল, লেখা ভাল, গৃহস্থের জয় হউক।”

‘সুত বাল (মাঘ)’ হইতে গৃহস্থের উন্নতি হইয়াছে—ছাপা, ছবি, আকার ও প্রবন্ধগৌরবে। আলোচনা-অংশ একটি বৃহৎ অধ্যায় ইহাতে পরিবর্তিত হইয়াছে। এই আলোচনার বহু কাগজের বিষয়ের আলোচনা আছে; সেগুলি সুচিত্রিত ও সুলিখিত। আমরা ইহার মধ্য

হইতে ‘বাক্সালীর আর্থিক অবস্থা’ ও ‘আশার কথা’ শীর্ষক অংশ দুটি নায়কে উদ্ভূত করিব। ‘ছেলেদের জন্ম ইতিহাস’—রাধাকমল মুখোপাধ্যায়ের লিখিত একটি সুন্দর সম্বন্ধে অনেক ভবিষ্যৎ কথা আছে। ‘মহাকবি অবদোষের সৌন্দর্যনন্দ’ বিষ্ণুশেখর শাস্ত্রীর লিখিত অন্য একটি পাণ্ডিত্যপূর্ণ রচনা। ‘জ্যোতিষ প্রকাশ’ ও শ্রীবৃদ্ধ নিখিল নাথ রায়ের ‘মোহিনী’ লিখিত। আমরা গৃহস্থের উন্নতি কামনা করি।”

৬। The Dawn A-লন “Most of the articles which have appeared in the numbers ‘Dawn’ are well-written. They deal with social, religious and scientific subjects and will amply repay perusal. A feature of the Magazine is the serial publication of certain well-known Sanskrit works with translations in Bengali. Considering the amount of reading matter the subscription is certainly very cheap.

Grihastha continues to maintain its high standard in articles and stories.”

৭। কুমিল্লা হইতে শ্রীমুক্ত পঙ্কজেন দাস লিখিয়াছেন—“পত্রিকাখানি ভালই লাগিয়াছে। আশা করি আপনি দিন দিন এই পত্রিকাখানি উন্নতি করিয়া গৃহস্থের নিত্যজীবনের উপযোগী করিয়া তুলিতে পারিবেন। আপনাদের চেষ্টায় বঙ্গভাষার উত্তরোত্তর শ্রীবৃদ্ধি হউক এবং সাহিত্য প্রভূত পুষ্টি লাভ করুক ইহাই প্রার্থনা।”

৮। বহরমপুর কলেজ হষ্টেলের তত্ত্বাবধায়ক শ্রীমুক্ত চন্দ্রভূষণ গঙ্গোপাধ্যায় লিখিয়াছেন—“অনেক দিন হইতে ‘গৃহস্থ’ পড়িয়া আসিতেছি। নূতন সংস্কৃতি নানাবিধ নূতন বিষয় সম্মিলিত দেখিয়া—মনে হয় ‘গৃহস্থ’ বাস্তবিকই গৃহস্থের সহায় হইবে। বিশেষতঃ ‘আলোচনা’ অংশে অনেকানেক অতীত প্রয়োজনীয় কথা অতি সরসভাবে আলোচিত হইতেছে। আদর্শ, জ্যোতিষ, হিন্দু-সাহিত্য হিন্দু সমাজের অবস্থা ও উন্নতির উপায় ইত্যাদি বিষয়াবলি যথেষ্ট পাণ্ডিত্য সহকারে বিবৃত হইতেছে। পত্রিকাখানি শিক্ষক ছাত্র এবং গৃহস্থ সর্ব সাধারণেরই বিশেষ উপকারে আসিবে। প্রবন্ধ লেখকগণ সকলেই বঙ্গসাহিত্যে সুপরিচিত। ফলতঃ ‘গৃহস্থ’ সুদক্ষতার সহিত সম্পাদিত হইতেছে।”

৯। কান্ধী হইতে শ্রীমুক্ত সরোজেন্দ্রচন্দ্র ভট্টাচার্য লিখিয়াছেন:—

“আমরা মাঘ ও ফাল্গুন—এই ২মাসের ২ খানি গৃহস্থ পাইয়াছি। অধিকাংশ আলোচনা ও লিখিত গ্রন্থ এবং প্রবন্ধগুলির মধ্যে অনেক জ্ঞাতব্য বিষয় সম্মিলিত আছে। ইহা যে একটি সুশীল মানসিক পত্রিকা তাহা বোধ হয় সকলকেই স্বীকার করিতে হইবে। পত্রিকার প্রকাশ যে বঙ্গসাহিত্যের বহুল কল্যাণ সাধন করিবে তাহাতে সন্দেহ নাই। আমরা এই পত্রিকাখানিকে লোকসমাজে আদৃত হইতে দেখিলে সুখী হইব। আমাদের আশা হইতেছে যে বঙ্গসাহিত্যের বর্তমান পুনর্জীবন লাভ করিবে।”

১০। কলিকাতার কুমিল্লা শ্রীমুক্ত অরেন্দ্র নাথ লাহা এম. এ. বি. এল. মহাপ্রায় লিখিয়াছেন—

"I am glad to find that the articles they contain treat of diverse, interesting and important subjects, conveying much useful information to the readers, and the contributors count among them many writers well-known to the literary world."

১১। **শ্রীমন্ত ললিতমোহন মুখোপাধ্যায় সম্পাদক,** **গৃহস্থ** পত্রিকা, **বায়ানশীল পাখা, লিথিয়াছেন—**

* * * "গৃহস্থের প্রথম প্রচার হইতেই ইহার উন্নতি লক্ষ্য করা যায়। স্বদেশীয় প্রবন্ধাদি নির্বাচনে, শাস্ত্রীয় গ্রন্থপ্রচারে, ও আধ্যাত্মিক জীবনের প্রাধান্যপ্রদানে গৃহস্থের বিশেষ অঙ্গভূত করিয়া বিশেষ আনন্দলাভ করিতেছিলাম। আলোচ্যসংখ্যার আলোচনাংশটি বিশেষ অঙ্গভূত ও বিজ্ঞতার পরিচায়ক। অধ্যাপক রাধাকমল মহাশয়ের 'ছেলেদের জন্ত ইতিহাস' শীর্ষক প্রবন্ধটি একজন অধ্যাপক শিক্ষকের গুরুদাক্ষিত্য বোধ হইতেই উদ্ভূত। পণ্ডিত বিধুশেখর মহাশয়ের মহাকবি অবধোমের সোন্দরনন্দ ইংরাজীভাষায় লিখিত হইলে এসিয়াটিক সোসাইটির সাময়িক পত্রিকাও ইহা মুদ্রিত করিয়া বিশেষরূপে গৌরবান্বিত হইত এবং পণ্ডিতমহাশয়ের যশঃ ও প্রতিভা স্বয়ং যুরোপখণ্ডের সংস্কৃত রসিকগণের মধ্যে প্রখ্যাপিত করিয়া তাঁহার সহিত বাঙ্গালী পণ্ডিত-সম্প্রদায়কেই ধন্য করিয়া তুলিত, কিন্তু হায়, বাঙ্গালার লিখিত প্রবন্ধটি কখন বাঙ্গালী পাঠ্য করিয়া পণ্ডিত মহাশয়ের গভীর জ্ঞানের পরিমাণ নির্ধারণে উৎসুক হইবেন, একথা ভাবিতে গেলেও বাঙ্গালী সাময়িকের পাঠকসাধারণের কচিবৈচিত্র্য স্বরূপে হতাশার দুই একটি উচ্ছ্বাস ত্যাগ করিয়াই নিরন্তর হইতে হয়। শাস্ত্রী মহাশয়ের প্রবন্ধটি বাঙ্গালার সর্বশ্রেষ্ঠ কেন, জ্ঞানার্শির শ্রেষ্ঠতম সাময়িক পত্রিকায় প্রকাশিত হইবে। অতএব এ জাতীয় প্রবন্ধ প্রকাশে 'গৃহস্থ' প্রথম শ্রেণীর সাময়িক পত্রিকার উন্নতি হইতে চলিয়াছে, বলিলে, বোধ হয়, অতিশয়োক্তি হইবে না।"

১২। **Bengalee বলেন—**"The Aswin number of Grihastha, the Bengali monthly opens with a beautiful illustration of the Gaya Brahmajoni Pahar. It contains three articles which inculcate the lessons of Hinduism. These are written in a lucid language and are copiously illustrated by extracts from the Hindu Shastras."

১৩। **স্বলপুরের প্রসিদ্ধ উকীল নৃতমবিং শ্রীমন্ত বিজয়চন্দ্র মজুমদার লিখিয়াছেন :—**

"যদি এবং কখন যাদের দুই পক্ষ 'গৃহস্থ' পাঠ করিয়া নিঃসন্দেহ মনে পারিতেছি যে 'গৃহস্থ' অতিশুদ্ধ যোগ্যতার সহিত সম্পাদিত হইতেছে, এবং উহাতে অনেক স্থানীয় লোকের অধিঃস্বার্থ প্রবন্ধ প্রকাশিত হইতেছে। পত্রের আলোচনা অংশ অতি শিক্ষাপ্রদ। আশা করি, পত্রিকা যাহা লাভ করিয়া যেন উহার সাধন করিবে।"

১৪। **গৃহস্থ হইতে শ্রীমন্ত বাসুকীচন্দ্র লিঃ হঃ রায় চৌধুরী লিখিয়াছেন—**

এ “গৃহস্থের” মাঘ সংখ্যা আদ্যোপান্ত পাঠ করিয়া বিশেষ প্রীত হইলাম। তিন চারি বৎসর যাবৎ বাহার অভাব প্রাণে প্রাণে উপলব্ধি করিতেছিলাম, আজ “গৃহস্থ” নূতন কলেবরে ও নবোদ্যমে সকল অভাব পূরণ করিয়া আমার নিকট উপস্থিত।

কল্পিত এক বিষয়ক প্রবন্ধ বিভিন্ন জাতীয় সংবাদ পত্রেই স্থান লাভ করা উচিত, তাহাপি আপনার জুলিঙ্ক পত্র-লেখকগণের বিশিষ্ট পাঠকজাতীয় জন্ত এইরূপ একখানি বিশিষ্ট সংবাদ পত্রের-এইটাই মূল “ম” ছিল। এমতাবস্থায় বর্তমান “গৃহস্থ” যে বিশেষ সমযোগ্যযোগী হইয়াছে, একথা বোধহয়, অন্ততঃ আমার জাতীয় ভূক্ত কেহই অস্বীকার করিতে পারিবেন না।

আর সাধারণভাবে মন্তব্য প্রকাশ করিতে গেলে, “গৃহস্থকে” প্রধাণতঃ দুইভাগে বিভক্ত করিতে পারা যায়। প্রথমার্ধ আলোচনা শীর্ষক সম্পাদকীয় মন্তব্য, ও দ্বিতীয়ার্ধ প্রধান প্রধান লেখকগণের নানা বিষয়ক জ্ঞানগর্ভ কবিতা ও প্রবন্ধাবলী। বিষয়ের তুলনা নাই। চিত্তগুলি ও মন বলা যায় না। নূতনত্ব আর্দ্রে, সচরাচর যে প্রাণহীন বৈরাগ্যের কথা পড়িয়া থাকি, ইহাতে তেমন পরিলক্ষিত হইল না। প্রতি ছত্রে যেন একটা জীবনী শক্তি প্রকটিত। উৎসাহ ও উদ্যমে পরিপূর্ণ। ভাষা প্রাঞ্জল ও চিত্তাকর্ষক, পড়িতে পড়িতে উৎসাহের আকাঙ্ক্ষা থাকিয়া যায়। “গৃহস্থের” কলেবর বৃদ্ধি বাঞ্ছনীয়। সম্পাদকের যোগ্যতা ও লেখনীর শক্তি অস্বীকার করিতে পারি না।”

৮ ১৫। পাবনা হইতে শ্রীযুক্ত কিশোরী মোহন জোহান্দার লিখিয়াছেন—

নানাবিধ নূতন বিশিষ্ট পাঠ করিয়া মনে এক অনির্বচনীয় আনন্দ অহভব করিতেছি। প্রত্যেক বিশেষতঃ “আলোচন” যেন বেশ কিছু স্বাস্থ্যকর এবং স্বরস খবর পাওয়া যায়।

অতি সঙ্গতিপূর্ণ সংকাব্যের অহুষ্ঠানের বহল প্রচার হউক, ভগবান আপনার গৃহস্থটিকে সাহিত্য হিন্দু সমাজের অবস্থা পত্রিক গৃহস্থের মত ভোগের সামগ্রী করিয়া দিন এবং আপনার বিবৃত হইতেছে।

আসিবে। প্রবন্ধ লেখকগণ “আলোচনা”—অধ্যায় হইতে বহু সংবাদ পত্রে অংশ বিশেষ উদ্ধৃত হইতেছে। সুহিত সম্পাদিত হইতেছে।” ইয়ক এবং প্রাক্কাল বিবর্তিত ২৩টি অংশ উদ্ধৃত করিয়াছেন।

৯। কলিকাতা হইতে—“সম্প্রতি মাসিকপত্র ‘গৃহস্থের’ সম্পাদক ঢাকা সাহিত্যপরিষদের ‘আমরা মাঘ ও সুদে উক্ত পরিষদ কর্তৃপক্ষকে একটি নূতন অহুষ্ঠানে হস্তক্ষেপ করিতে অহুরোধ করিয়াছেন, আমরা আশা করি, ঢাকা সাহিত্য পরিষদের নেতৃবর্গ একটি সাহিত্য-সেবার নিরত ব্যক্তিবৃন্দ নিষিষ্ট মনে বিষয়টি চিন্তা করিবেন।”

১০। কলিকাতা হইতে প্রকাশিত শিক্ষাবিষয়ক ইংরাজী পাবিক পত্র Collegian বলেন—

“We congratulate our contemporaries, the Editorial Staff of *Grihastha* a Bengali monthly devoted to Hindu Culture and national life on their latest issue. Such issues are sure to maintain its position as a journal of the first rank. We notice in it the contributions of several of our celebrated

A first class Bengali Journal

authors, and men of letters like Prof. R. K. Mookerji, M.A., Pandit Bidhusekhar Sastri, and Prof. H. C. Dey, M.A. The paper on *Adhyatmik Philosophy* is the work of deep original research, and the subject has been treated perhaps for the first time by the Indian scholars whether in English or in vernaculars. We would like to see it in English. The paper on what man has done in Indian history is eminently suggestive of topics that may be profitably taken up by Indian research scholars. As opposed to the theory that Indian history has always been governed by the influences of climate and the physical energies the writer holds that the reverse is no less true and corroborated by facts of Indian history—that Indian manhood developed itself by surmounting the obstacles presented by the geographical features of India.

The issue begins with a motto from the philosophic work of Bankim chandra entitled *Anusilan*, and contains besides the original papers, a poem and a review, some very important topics for discussion on political, sanitary, literary, educational and social subjects. We are glad to notice the all-India character of these notes and comments. There is an attempt to enlighten the Bengali public with what is being done in various parts of India in literature, research, politics and education. The Congress and Conferences at Bankipore, Calcutta and Lucknow, the Social Service League of Bombay, the Sahitya Parishat of Dacca, the Panini office of Allahabad, the Vaishnav Conference of Burdwan invited by Maharaja Cossimbazar and the Ladies conference at Rangpur have been noticed and commented upon. And there is a powerful appeal for the study of Hindi by educated Bengalees."

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১৮। আৰ্য্য কায়স্থ প্রতিভা—“ইহার বাহ বেশ ভূষা যেমন প্রীতিপ্রদ অভ্যন্তর প্রবন্ধগুলিও তেমনি ভূমিকর ও উপদেশ পূর্ণ। জ্যোতিষ-প্রসঙ্গ পাঠ করিয়া আমরা বিশেষ আনন্দান্বিত হইতেছি। * * * ‘গৃহস্থ’ হিন্দু গৃহস্থের যত্নপূর্ণ সাধন করিতেছেন। প্রত্যেক গৃহস্থের গৃহে ‘গৃহস্থ’-র আদর ও অধ্যয়ন দেখিলে আমরা স্তম্ভ হইব।”

১৯। শ্রীযুক্ত চুর্গাদাস রায় অ্যান্টিট হেডমাস্টার জেলাহুল ডাঙ্গলপুর লিখিয়াছেন—

“আমি ৪র্থ ও ৫ম সংখ্যা পাইয়া তৎপাঠে উপকৃত ও শিক্ষা প্রাপ্ত হইয়াছি। বেক্স বহু, উৎসাহ ও অবধানের সহিত পত্রিকা চলিতেছে তাহাতে সত্ত্বর ইহা বাস্তবিক উচ্চশ্রেণীর মাসিকপত্রিকার মধ্যে যথেষ্ট গণ্য হইয়া উঠিবে। আমি নিয়ত সন্মানসূচক ইহার উন্নতি ও সাফল্য কামনা করিতেছি। আপনাদের উদ্যম প্রশংসনীয়।”

২০। বঙ্গপুরের রায়বাহাদুর শ্রীযুক্ত হুজুজয় রায় চৌধুরী এম্, আর, এ, এম্, মহাশয় বলেন—

“Your ‘গৃহস্থ’ of May is to hand and I am very much pleased with this number so well got up. Now I am quite sure this paper can be counted as one of the foremost Monthly Magazines in Bengal. I wish it every prospect and long life.”

২১। বিদ্যুৎসঙ্গী—“জ্যোতিষ প্রবন্ধটি বহু হইতেছে না। গৃহস্থ অঙ্গসৌভাগ্য বহু হইতেছে।”

২২। হিন্দু পত্রিকা—“হাপা কাগজ, ও ছবি প্রশংসার। জ্যোতিষ-প্রসঙ্গ বেশ প্রয়োজনীয়। ‘গৃহস্থ’ হিন্দুত্ব ও ধর্মতাব প্রধান। মর্কিণ্ডের পুরাণের মূলসহ পল্যাহ্বাদ বেশ হইতেছে।”

২৩। মহিষাশুরাধিপতি স্বর্গীয় রাজা জ্যোতিঃ প্রসাদগর্গ বাহাদুরের মহিষী রাধিকার বিদেহী দেবী মহোদয়া বলেন—“গৃহস্থ পাঠ করিয়া অতীব সন্তোষ লাভ করিয়াছি। হিন্দু মাসিক পত্রের উদ্দেশ্য অতি মহৎ। ইহাতে সন্নিবেশিত বিষয় সকল হৃদয়, সরল, পুষ্টিকর, শিক্ষণীয় উপদেশপূর্ণ, এবং সর্বতোভাবে কালের উপযোগী। জগদীশ্বরের নিকট প্রার্থনা, অকলেবর বৃদ্ধি প্রাপ্ত হইয়া অমরত্ব লাভ করুক।”

24. BABU BRAJALAL MUKERJEE B. A., Head Master, Government Training School, Calcutta, writes on 14th November, 1904.—“The Grihastha is a monthly Magazine in Bengali chiefly devoted to social, literary and religious subjects. It is perfectly chaste in taste, and is not only readable, but forms interesting reading. I have read with interest every article which has appeared in its issues, and my only regret has been that they do not contain more such articles. The get up is nice, and the pictures excellent. It is one of the few papers, which can safely be placed in the hands of Hindu females. The paper is being efficiently conducted. * * * I heartily wish the conductors every success, and hope the proprietor would find his way to increase the bulk of the paper.”

25. The Amrita Bazar Patrika বলেন :—

“—The last two issues of the Grihastha—Magh and Falgun—are lying on our table. They have been enlarged in size, decorated with a number of pictures and above all enriched with a new section called *Alochana*. This section may be fairly called to be an innovation in Bengali monthlies. They intend to make the readers well-informed with all the movements—political, religious, social, literary, sanitary and industrial—and to inspire them with a spirit of activity. The account of the South African Indians is heart-rending. It emphasises the necessity of establishing a Religious Mission House which will send preachers to all those lands where our Indian brethren are residing. It is the preachers who ennoble human mind and teach men to wage a life-long struggle against immorality and despair.

The section specially meant for articles is not devoid of newness and signs of improvement. Prof. Bidhusekhar Shastri's *Madhyamika Darshan* and Mr. Aswa Ghose's *Soundarnanda* are brilliant contributions. Mr. Ramakamal Mukherjee's review of the newly published *Life of the young boys—written on a new line* throws a new light upon the subject and should be fully discussed by our teachers and students. We are highly pleased with the improvement of the paper and wish it all success.”

২৬। শ্রীমাসবিহারী বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় এম, আর এ, এস, (সম্পাদক, ‘বাঙ্গালী শাস্ত্রিকের লাইব্রেরী ও অক্ষর-বৃত্ত-বৃদ্ধি সমিতি’ এবং স্থানীয় ‘বিকা-সমিতি’র সভাপতি, ইত্যাদি), লিখিয়াছেন—“গৃহস্থ” পত্রিকার প্রচারাধি উহার উন্নতি বিশেষভাবে লক্ষ্য করিয়া আসিতেছি। নূতন সংস্করণে নব নব বিষয়বস্তু সন্নিবেশিত হওয়ায় অতি অল্পকালব্যধ্যে পত্রিকাখানি সত্তর শিকিত সমাজের সমাদর লাভ করিতে সক্ষম হইয়াছে।

স্বদেশীয় লোকের শিক্ষার জন্য বহু প্রচেষ্টা করেছেন। 'সেইদিন-একদিন' পত্রিকা
'স্বদেশী-সংবাদ' পত্রিকার বিশেষণ। প্রকাশ করা এখন স্বদেশীয়দের পক্ষে
পত্রিকার তার স্বাধীনতার স্বর করে বিদ্রোহ করিবে।

২৩। "হাবলুল হাভিল" মাসিক (কলিকাতার মুসলমানগণ কর্তৃক পরিচালিত বৈশিষ্ট্য
পত্রিকা) :- "বৈশিষ্ট্য সংখ্যা 'গৃহস্থ' আয়তনের ইতরত হইয়াছে। নতুন ইশ্বর চিত্রের
সমাবেশে, বর্তমান সংখ্যায় সৌন্দর্য বৃদ্ধি পাইয়াছে। বিবিধ তথ্য সমৃদ্ধি, বিশেষতঃ
সম্মিলন বাঙ্গালা মাসিকপত্রকে স্বতন্ত্র ইংরাজি ভাষার খেঁচা ম্যাগাজিন (Magazine) সমূহের
সমকক্ষ করিয়া তুলিবে। 'গৃহস্থ'র "আলোচনা" বেশের প্রবেশে এই পাঠ করা উচিত
বিশেষতঃ আলোচনা-সংখ্যা সাময়িকপত্রের সর্বাঙ্গ গণ্ডী জাতিয়া এক উদার ও বিপুল আদর্শ,
সমৃদ্ধ রাষ্ট্রীয় দেশবাসীর নিকট বিধের সমাচার আনিয়াছে। অধ্যাপক রাষ্ট্রসমূহের
"পল্লীসেবক" পাঠ করিলে বাস্তবিকই মনে হয় আমাদের সমুখে এত কাজ আমাদের মধ্যে
এত হীনতা ও হীনতা, আর আমরা কর্তব্যবিমূঢ় হইয়া বসিয়া আছি। জ্বলন্ত অধ্যাপক কেবল
ভূতের কণ্ঠস্বর শুনিয়া ক্ষান্ত হন নাই। তিনি তাঁহার বেশের যুবকগণকে হিন্দু মুসলমান-
নির্ভেদে দেশের স্বাস্থ্য, পানীয়, ব্যবসা, বিজ্ঞা, ক্রীড়া সকল দিকেই কার্য করিবার ক্ষমতা
আহ্বান করিয়াছেন। তিনি বেশ নিপুণভাবে সকলের কর্তব্য নির্ধারণ করিয়া দিয়াছেন।
তবে এখন কখন দেশের যুবকগণের স্বার্থ-সম্বন্ধতা এখনও দূর হইবে কি না, তাঁহার। স্বার্থের
লোভ ছাড়িয়া এখনও দেশ-মাতার সেবায় জীবন উৎসর্গ করিতে পারিবেন কি না।
"পাশ্চাত্য জগতে নবীন শক্তির আবির্ভাব" ও "লাকিপাতো বৈশ্বিক আন্দোলন" বেশ
সময়োপযোগী এবং তুলিত। "বাঙ্গালার জমিদার" প্রবন্ধটি স্বতন্ত্র হাবলুল হাভিলে
প্রকাশিত হইবে। "সমাজ-সেবা" প্রবন্ধে লেখক ইষ্টারের দুটোর সময় দেশের চারিদিকে
মোসলেম-লিগ, প্রাদেশিক-সমিতি, সাহিত্য-সম্মিলন প্রভৃতি যে সকল অস্থান হইয়াছিল
তাঁহার এক সঙ্গ এবং সংক্ষিপ্ত বিবরণ দিয়াছেন। বাস্তবিকই মোসলেম-লিগের বর্তমান
অধিবেশনে মনে হয় মুসলমান আর পশ্চাৎপদ থাকিতে রাজি নহেন। আমরা হিন্দু মুসলমান
সকলকেই "গৃহস্থ" পাঠ করিতে অনুরোধ করি।

২৪। মালদহ হইতে শ্রীকৃষ্ণকেশব গোস্বামী শাস্ত্ররত্ন (অধ্যাপক
কনিষ্ঠ সংস্কৃত বিদ্যালয়) লিখিয়াছেন—"গৃহস্থ" প্রবন্ধ গৌরবে গরীয়ান
চিত্রশিল্পে সমৃদ্ধ। ইহার বিশেষত্ব—ইহা অসখা লিপি-বিভাগে পরিপূর্ণ নহে।

শ্রীমদ্ বিদ্যেশ্বর শাস্ত্রীর "সৌন্দর্য-পাঠে বোধ-বিষয়ে অনেক জ্ঞান লাভ হইবে
এতদর্শন প্রবন্ধ অকীকৃত করিয়া, "গৃহস্থ" অধিকতর দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করিতেছে।

মার্কণ্ডেয় পুরাণের অষ্টমোহ শকা হইলেও দুলাহুগ ও ললিত-পদ-বিভাগ হইয়াছে।

"নেপালে সৌন্দর্য প্রভাব" অবতরণিকাধার। যদি উহা বীরভাবে লিখিত হইয়া লক্ষ
হয়, তবে, তাহাতে অবশ্যই সৌন্দর্য্য হইবে।

"গৃহস্থ" কবির প্রতিগৃহে বিদ্যমান হইক, অগ্ন্যংগন লাভ করক, পল্লীসেবক
করাই করি।

২৫। ভট্টপল্লী হইতে শ্রীযুক্ত পঞ্চানন ভট্টরত্ন মহাশয় লিখিয়াছেন—

"গৃহস্থ"—বিভিন্ন গৃহস্থ, প্রাচীন ও নবীনের ভাব সময়ে গৃহস্থের জীবন। সময়-বাহিনী
হই একটা সখা আমার সমস্ত ন্য হইলেও—শব্দিক পুর্নই আমার অস্বাভাবিক।
কল্পিত পুর্নভব জ্ঞান অগাধ কি উপায়ে বিদ্রিষ্ট হইবে—গৃহস্থ ভাষায় মুকুটভব
কল্পিত পুর্নভব জ্ঞান আর কই—গৃহস্থ বিদ্রিষ্ট কই।

৩০. 'আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা' বলেন— "এই সংখ্যার (চৈত্র) ২৭শী প্রবন্ধ এবং ২৮শী বিষয়ের আলোচনা আছে। সর্বসমেত ১২ খানি চিত্র আছে। এ ভাবে চলিলে গৃহস্থ বাসনায় সর্বপ্রধান মাসিক পত্র হইরা পাড়াইবে। ৪৪৯ পৃষ্ঠে মার্কণ্ডের পুরাণের মূল ও পর্লো বঙ্গভাষায় রচনা হইতেছে। গৃহস্থের কোন স্থলেই কোন সমাজ বা কোন সম্প্রদায়ের প্রতি কটাক্ষ করা যিক্রম নাই। পড়তে গিয়া কোথাও রসভঙ্গ বা কোন্ড উপস্থিত হয় না। গৃহস্থের বিদ্যুৎকণ্টক নষ্টপ্রাপ্ত। আমরা গৃহস্থকে সকল বাঙ্গালী গৃহস্থের মত আকৃষ্ট হইতে দেখি।" ৬৫।

৩১. 'এডুকেশন গেজেট' বলেন— "এই সংখ্যার (চৈত্র) ২৭শী প্রবন্ধ এবং ২৮শী বিষয়ের আলোচনা আছে। সর্বসমেত ১২ খানি চিত্র আছে। এ ভাবে চলিলে গৃহস্থ বাসনায় সর্বপ্রধান মাসিক পত্র হইরা পাড়াইবে। ৪৪৯ পৃষ্ঠে মার্কণ্ডের পুরাণের মূল ও পর্লো বঙ্গভাষায় রচনা হইতেছে। গৃহস্থের কোন স্থলেই কোন সমাজ বা কোন সম্প্রদায়ের প্রতি কটাক্ষ করা যিক্রম নাই। পড়তে গিয়া কোথাও রসভঙ্গ বা কোন্ড উপস্থিত হয় না। গৃহস্থের বিদ্যুৎকণ্টক নষ্টপ্রাপ্ত। আমরা গৃহস্থকে সকল বাঙ্গালী গৃহস্থের মত আকৃষ্ট হইতে দেখি।" ৬৫।

কয়েকটা প্রবন্ধ অল্পত উদ্ধৃত হইল। সকল জমিই সমস্তে উদ্ধৃত করিয়াই উল্লেখ করা গেলি— পড়িতে পড়িতে দেশের প্রতি ধীর গভীর ও পরিষ্কার ঐতিহাসিক আভাস পড়িয়া যায়।

৩২. 'আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা' বলেন— "এই সংখ্যার (গৃহস্থ—চৈত্র, ২৭শী সংখ্যা) হেলা খিটখিট হাসিখিট হাসিপ্রকণ্ডের স্থান হইয়াছে। ১০৩ পৃষ্ঠার এই সংখ্যা শেষ হইয়াছে। প্রবন্ধ, আলোচনা ও উপসংহার—আলোচ্য সংখ্যা এই তিন ভাগে বিভক্ত। আলোচনার— পারদর্শী মত ও হিন্দুগম্য, মাদোয়ারীর নিকটবাসিনীর শিক্ষা, বাসনায়ে সমবার, ছাত্রের প্রতিদ্বন্দ্বি, গিঃহলে হিন্দুশিক্ষালয়, লাহোরে জাপিকা, বৃন্দাবনে প্রেম মহাবিদ্যালয়, বাঙ্গালী স্টেট সার্টিফিকেটের মত, স্টাট সাহিত্য ও জনসাধারণ, সাহিত্য-সম্মিলনের সমস্যা, ইক্স প্রকণ্ডের আবশ্যকতা, সাহিত্য-সম্মিলনের উদ্দেশ্য, বঙ্গ সাহিত্যের অসম্পূর্ণতা, ইতিহাসের স্মৃতি, সাহিত্য সংরক্ষণ প্রভৃতি বিষয় স্থান প্রাপ্ত হইয়াছে। প্রবন্ধাবলীর মধ্যে সৌন্দর্য-বিকা, ৩০ পৃষ্ঠার কবি ৮ আনন্দচন্দ্র শিরোমণি, পূর্ববঙ্গে সাহিত্য-চর্চা, কবির নবীনকর পেল প্রভৃতি প্রবন্ধগুলি, যে কোনও মাসিক পত্রের অলঙ্কার। বি প্রবন্ধ গৌরব, বি পারদর্শী, প্রবন্ধের পারিপাটে সর্ব বিষয়েই এবারকার গৃহস্থ, মাসিক পত্রের মধ্যে অতি উচ্চমান প্রাপ্ত প্রবন্ধ প্রাপ্ত হইয়াছে। আমরা উত্তরোত্তর গৃহস্থের উন্নতি পেল, আশা করি হইবে।" ৬৬।

৩৩. 'আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা' বলেন— "এই সংখ্যার (গৃহস্থ—চৈত্র, ২৭শী সংখ্যা) হেলা খিটখিট হাসিখিট হাসিপ্রকণ্ডের স্থান হইয়াছে। ১০৩ পৃষ্ঠার এই সংখ্যা শেষ হইয়াছে। প্রবন্ধ, আলোচনা ও উপসংহার—আলোচ্য সংখ্যা এই তিন ভাগে বিভক্ত। আলোচনার— পারদর্শী মত ও হিন্দুগম্য, মাদোয়ারীর নিকটবাসিনীর শিক্ষা, বাসনায়ে সমবার, ছাত্রের প্রতিদ্বন্দ্বি, গিঃহলে হিন্দুশিক্ষালয়, লাহোরে জাপিকা, বৃন্দাবনে প্রেম মহাবিদ্যালয়, বাঙ্গালী স্টেট সার্টিফিকেটের মত, স্টাট সাহিত্য ও জনসাধারণ, সাহিত্য-সম্মিলনের সমস্যা, ইক্স প্রকণ্ডের আবশ্যকতা, সাহিত্য-সম্মিলনের উদ্দেশ্য, বঙ্গ সাহিত্যের অসম্পূর্ণতা, ইতিহাসের স্মৃতি, সাহিত্য সংরক্ষণ প্রভৃতি বিষয় স্থান প্রাপ্ত হইয়াছে। প্রবন্ধাবলীর মধ্যে সৌন্দর্য-বিকা, ৩০ পৃষ্ঠার কবি ৮ আনন্দচন্দ্র শিরোমণি, পূর্ববঙ্গে সাহিত্য-চর্চা, কবির নবীনকর পেল প্রভৃতি প্রবন্ধগুলি, যে কোনও মাসিক পত্রের অলঙ্কার। বি প্রবন্ধ গৌরব, বি পারদর্শী, প্রবন্ধের পারিপাটে সর্ব বিষয়েই এবারকার গৃহস্থ, মাসিক পত্রের মধ্যে অতি উচ্চমান প্রাপ্ত প্রবন্ধ প্রাপ্ত হইয়াছে। আমরা উত্তরোত্তর গৃহস্থের উন্নতি পেল, আশা করি হইবে।" ৬৬।

